

~~SECRET~~

भारत सरकार
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

विदेश मंत्रालय East Asia Division
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

नई दिल्ली
NEW DELHI

फाइल नं०
FILE No. C/551/12/93 - JP

खण्ड I
VOLUME

DECLASSIFIED

Chatterjee

(अरुण कुमार चटर्जी)
(ARUN KUMAR CHATTERJEE)
संयुक्त सचिव (सी.एन.ए.)
Joint Secretary (CNV)
विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली
Ministry of External Affairs
New Delhi

Correspondence
No. 1 to 26
1-2 page

टिप्पणियां/पत्राचार

NOTES/CORRESPONDENCE

विषय
Subject

Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose

पिछले हवाले
Previous Reference

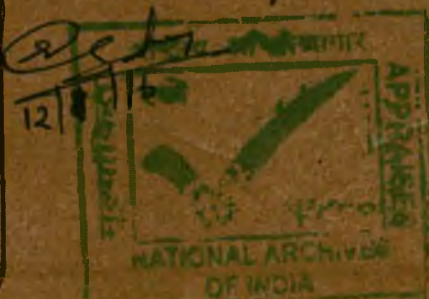
बाद के हवाले
Later Reference

No. C/551/13/81 - JP Vol I & II

No. C/551/14/90 - JP

No. C/551/17/92 - JP

Keep



NOT — 1-2

CORR — 1-118

Total — 120

No. C/551/12/93 - JP Vol II

File/Din/AP/93
15/11

File No C/551/12/83-JB

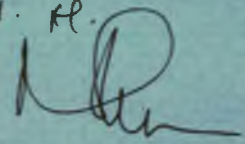
~~SECRET~~

Vd I

Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)

Subject : CONTROVERSY REGARDING NETAJI SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE'S DEATH AND BRINGING HIS ASHES TO INDIA FROM JAPAN

Ref FR from the MHA on the subject referred to above.
A draft is placed below for approval please. Make his part up separately within Laman Gulzar letter to EAM. PL.



(Primrose R. Sharma)
Director (AP)
15.11.93

JS (AP)

Resubmitted with change desired.
Jeychandras letter - (Original his part up
Sep. with note of old paper)

18/11

JS (AP)

at DFA I

FS may kindly see the proposed note providing
MEA's background note for the preparation of the
paper for the Cabinet by MHA on Netaji's issue
regarding Netaji's ashes and his birth centenary in 1997
raised by Principal Secretary in his note as enclosure to FR.

2. Some points on MEA's recommendations are
placed at DFA II. These would be amalgamated
with DFA I after FS has seen.

F.S.

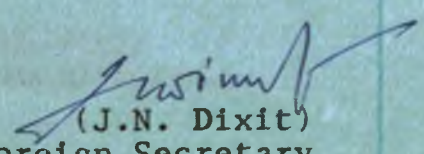
19/11

15834/FS/93
22/11

(2)
-: 2 :-


(From pre-page)

Please merge DFA I and DFA II and issue them as proposed.


(J.N. Dixit)
Foreign Secretary
22.11.1993

JS(AP)

It get failed. The letter is in your
Computer. It will go from me. Pl. indicate in letter
the FS has seen and approved. Does this come
to go at this stage to EAM? I think not.


23.11.93

D.v (AP)

Failed with reply to JS (AP) plan
for revision pl. 12/11

1245/10/93
10/6

1500/10/93
10/6

3841/100-2/93
10.6

348/Dir (BSA)/53

No. I/12014/3/93-18(D.III)
Government of India
Ministry of Home Affairs.

21/5/93

(1) (10)

c/551/7/92 JP

New Delhi
Dated the 17th May, 1993

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

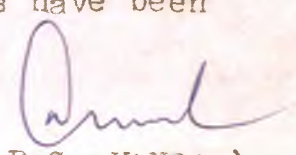
17 MAY 1993

Subject: Another Investigation inquiry about
the disappearance of Netaji Subhash
Chandra Bose.

....

The undersigned is directed to forward copies
of a representation 13.3.93 from Prof. Samar Guha and
others of Calcutta addressed to the President of India
and a letter dated 30.3.93 alongwith its enclosre add-
ressed to the Home Minister, on the above subject for
appropriate necessary action under intimation to this
Ministry.

2. The above mentioned communications have been
acknowledged.


(R.C. HANDA)
DESK OFFICER

Encl: As above.

The Ministry of External Affairs,
(Shri Sanjiv Arora, Under Secretary)
South Block,
NEW DELHI.

DS(SL)
(in hand)

I don't think DS(SL) has
any role in this. We may
refer it to Coord. Secy.
May see refer may H. see
28/5

DS(Coord)
28/5

The endorm request
GOI to approach Govts of
UK, USA, Taiwan and Russia. Please
check if any other countries are listed
and send to the concerned divisions
24/5
25/5

NE Div. may H. see
if this is being
handled by them.

24/5
9/6

LS (AP)



राष्ट्रपति
भारत गणतंत्र
PRESIDENT
REPUBLIC OF INDIA

22 March 1993

My dear Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao,

During my recent visit to Calcutta, Prof. Samar Guha, Shri Triguna Sen, Shri Amiya Kumar Mazumdar and other eminent citizens met me and pressed me to endorse to you the requests contained in the letter which I forward herewith to you.

With sincere regards
Yours sincerely,

S. D. Sharma
(Shanker Dayal Sharma)

Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao,
Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi 110 011.

1427-vf

31-8/93

Encls: As above

18
A.S.P.
Per [unclear]
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To
Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma
President of India
Raj Bhavan
Calcutta

March 13/1993

1. Sub: Investigative Inquiry about Disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Respected Rastrapatiji,

1997 is the year of Centenary of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. It is our sacred national duty to know before that, what really happened to the epic hero of our national liberation.

It was reported by the Tokyo Radio quoting the news of the Domei Agency that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose died at Taihoku in Formosa in an aircrash on 18th Aug 1945. But this report of the private news agency was neither officially confirmed by the Govt. of Japan, nor by any other concerned Govts. of India, UK and USA. Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Wavell, the then Viceray of India, didn't accept the Radio report as true. Thus, the riddle about the report of Netaji's death continued to remain unresolved.

In 1956 Shah Nawaz Committee was set-up to inquire into the 'death report' of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. The Committee's report was not found satisfactory. In 1971 Mrs. Indira Gandhi had instituted an One-man Judicial Commission under justice G.D.Khosla to 'inquire into disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose'. Findings of the report of this Commission, as also of the Shah Nawaz Committee's, were rejected by the then Prime Minister, Shri Morarji Desai. He made a statement about it in Lok Sabha on 3rd Sept 1978. He also suggested an Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji to finalise the sensitive issue of what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

A representation, thereafter was made to the Govt. of Shri V.P.Singh for an Investigative Inquiry. This Govt. agreed 'to take up the matter'. But it was Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar, which informed in writing regarding starting of 'high level Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose'. But before this inquiry could be completed the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar resigned.

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The former President of India, Shri R.Venkatraman, took active interest in this matter. He directly advised Shri V.P.Singh and Shri Chandra Sekhar to take up the matter in right earnestness.

Before he left his office Shri Venkatramanji twice advised our present Prime Minister, Shri P.V.Narasimha Rao, to finalize the issue of what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

A fresh representation has been made to you, to the present Prime Minister, to the Minister of Home Affairs and the Minister of External Affairs for completing the Investigative Inquiry that was started by the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar.

An Investigative Inquiry doesn't mean any further Public Inquiry, but requires findings of documents about the report of the plane crash involving Netaji which are available with the Govts. of UK, USA, Taiwan and Russia.

Immediately after the report of the alleged plane crash involving Netaji, the then Viceray of India, Lord Wavell; Adml. Mountbatten, Chief of the S.E.Asian Allied Army Command and Genl. Mac Arthur, Chief of the US Pacific Army started three separate and independent inquiries to verify the truth about the reported air crash involving Subhas Chandra Bose on Aug 18, 1945. None of the findings of these reports have been published nor either the Shah Nawaz Committee or the Khosla Commission asked for these reports from the Govts. of UK and USA.

Another independent inquiry to ascertain if any air crash had taken place at Taihoku, with Subhas Chandra Bose, on 18 Aug 1945 was conducted by the Mayor of Taipei of Taiwan. This report has also not been published nor asked for publication by the Govt. of India.

Further, according to the intelligence Report of the Govt. of Wavell during 1945-46, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose reached Russia under the cover of the story of air crash and was living there with an assumed name of Ghilzai Malang. The British document of 'Transfer of Power, - 1942-47' which was published in 1975, also confirmed the report of Netaji's taking asylum in Soviet Russia.

A letter written by Khurshed Behan, a very trusted disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, to the US journalist, Louis Fischer, which has been recently found in the archives of USA Princeton

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University positively asserted that Gandhiji believed till 22nd July 1946 that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was in Soviet Russia.

The Govt. has been requested to institute an Investigative Inquiry to make high level approach to the Govts. of UK, USA and Taiwan for availing the above inquiry reports and their findings. And also to approach the new Govt. of Russia to reveal all papers, documents, reports, etc. about Subhas Chandra Bose available in the files of the KGB and in the secret archives of Stalin.

If these reports of international inquiries are available then it will be possible for the Govt. of India to come to a final decision, whether Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose actually died in the reported aircrash at Taihoku on Aug 18, 1945 or he managed to escape to Soviet Russia under the cover of the story of his aircrash death.

Such Investigative Inquiry is possible only if a high level approach is made to the Govt. of UK, the Govt. of USA, Govt. of Taiwan and the Govt. of Russia and by our government.

We hope, you will agree that to finally know what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is a great national task for India. We, therefore, hope you will advise the Prime Minister to undertake a high level Investigative Inquiry for availing foreign documents for arriving at a decisive conclusion about the destiny of Netaji.

II. Sub: Celebration of 50th year of Azad Hind Govt.

We make a further appeal to you to ask the Central Govt. to observe the Golden Jubilee of the Formation of the Provisional Govt. of Free India on this year on 21st October of 1993. Mrs. Indira Gandhi ~~xxx~~ took a very patriotic initiative in officially celebrating the silver Jubilee of the Azad Hind Govt. on 21st October 1968 in a befitting manner. Today, the message of the National Unity of Netaji's

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Swad Hind Revolution is an urgent necessity for India to meet the
present national crisis facing our country.

With regards and namaskar,

Yours sincerely,

Pragada Siva
Chimaya Kumar Mazumdar
Arundel North India

No. I-339/93-HMP

Dear Prof. Samar Gaha,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 30th March, 1993 along with its enclosure suggesting another investigative inquiry about the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

(S.B. CHAVAN)

Prof. Samar Gaha, Ex.MP,
8/2, Central Park,
CALCUTTA.

Copy along with the letter under reference and its enclosure forwarded to SSC(SD) for necessary action.

Addl. P.S. to Home Minister

SS(1SP) on true

JS(1S/I)

01/08/93

filed
(N)
24/4

24/4
D.G. B. M.

Prof. Samar Guha

Former

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

(LOK SABHA)



52, CENTRAL PARK

CALCUTTA 700 01

PHONE : 72 100

30 March 1991

Dear Shri Chavanji,

with reference to your letter (D.O.No.1.12014/3/93-I.S.(D.111) dt. 22.2.93) about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose it appears the officers of your ministry who examined the matter did it rather casually without giving proper attention to it. I am sending you again a very brief background of what led to the demand for holding an Investigative Inquiry about the issue of disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

1. The report of the Tokyo Radio which announced the story of death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose at Taihoku on Aug 18, 1945, quoting the despatch of a private news agency, was not officially confirmed either by the Govt. of Japan or by any of the concerned Govts. of India, UK, or USA. Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Wavell, the then Viceroy of India declined to accept the Radio report as true.

2. In 1950 the Govt. of India constituted Shah Nawaz Committee for inquiring into 'Death' of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. This Committee concluded in strikingly prevaricating wordings, that Netaji died in the aircraft at Taihoku on Aug 18, 1945. But the report was not acceptable to the Indian people because it was not any judicial inquiry, but merely a compilation of statements of a few Japanese and Indian witnesses.

3. In 1971, in response to a joint memorandum signed by about 350 members of the Parliament, Mrs. Indira Gandhi had set-up an One-man Judicial Inquiry Commission headed by Justice G.D.Khosla to 'inquire into the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose'. This Commission concluded that Netaji died in the said aircraft. But because of violations of the basic principles of judicial inquiry Justice Khosla had to unconditionally apologize once before the Calcutta High Court for making derogatory remarks about Netaji and then again before the Speaker of the Lok Sabha for breach of privilege against the House. Thus, morally and legally the findings of the Khosla Commission had lost its judicial validity.

4. In reply to a massive debate in Lok Sabha on the Report of Khosla Commission, on 3rd Sept 1978 Shri Morarji Desai, the then Prime Minister announced on the floor of the House :

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"Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission held the report of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death as true. Since then reasonable doubts have been cast on the correctness reached in the two reports and various important contradictions in the testimony of the witnesses have been noticed. Some further contemporary official documentary records have also become available. In the light of those doubts and contradictions and those records, Government find it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions are decisive."

Thus, after rejection of both Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission's findings the whole issue of investigation about Netaji was reopened by the Central Govt.

5. The matter of Investigation about Disappearance of Netaji, thereafter, was taken up with the Govt. of Shri V.P. Singh which agreed to 'take up the matter'. However, because of the change of the Govt. at the Center the matter was again referred to the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar. The then President of India, Shri R. Venkatraman, advised both Shri Singh and Shri Chandra Sekhar to 'take up the matter' (Enclosure 1).

6. The Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar already started to set-up a 'High Level Investigative Inquiry about Disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose'. But it couldn't be completed because of the change of the Govt. at the Center. The Minister of External Affairs of the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar informed me about starting of the Investigative Inquiry (Enclosure 2). After formation of the Govt. by Shri F.V. Narsimha Rao at the Center a memorandum had been sent to him and the Home Minister. The then President of India, Shri R. Venkatraman informed me that he had advised the Prime Minister to take up the matter for completing the investigation started by the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar. (Enclosure 3).

7. Recently a delegation of very distinguished personalities of Calcutta met the President of India, Dr. S.D. Sharma, at Calcutta Raj Bhavan urging him for advising the Prime Minister for holding a fresh Investigative Inquiry about Netaji. The President responded affirmatively to the Memorandum.

8. An Investigative Inquiry doesn't mean any further Public Inquiry, but requires findings of documents about the report of the plane crash involving Netaji which are available with the Govts. of UK, USA, Taiwan and Russia.

Immediately after the report of the alleged plane crash involving Netaji, the then Viceroy of India, Lord Wavell; Adml. Mountbatten,

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Chief of the S.E. Asian Allied Army Command and Genl. Mac Arthur, Chief of the U.S. Pacific Army started three separate and independent inquiries to verify the truth about the reported air crash involving Subhas Chandra Bose on Aug 18, 1945. None of the findings of these reports have been published nor did the Shah Nawaz Committee or the Khosla Commission ask for these reports from the Govts. of UK and USA.

9. Another independent inquiry to ascertain if any air crash had taken place at Taihoku, with Subhas Chandra Bose, on 18 Aug 1945 was conducted by the Mayor of Taipei of Taiwan. This report has also not been published nor asked by either enquiry for publication by the Govt. of India.

10. Further, (i) according to the Intelligence Report received by the Govt. of Wavell, during 1945-46, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose reached Russia under the cover of the story of air crash and was living there with an assumed name of Ghilzai Malang. (ii) The British document of 'Transfer of Power, - 1942-47' which was published in 1975, also suggestively confirmed the report of Netaji's taking asylum in Soviet Russia. (iii) A letter written by Khurshed Behan, a very trusted disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, to the US journalist, Louis Fischer, which has been recently found in the archives of USA Princeton University positively asserted that Gandhiji believed till 22nd July 1946 that Netaji Subhas Bose was in Soviet Russia. Giving briefly the idea about the political situation in India in 1946 Khurshed Behn wrote to Fisher:

"...At heart the Indian Army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army (INA of Bose). If Bose comes with the help of Russia neither Gandhiji nor Congress will be able to reason with the country..."

11. The Govt. has been requested to institute an Investigative Inquiry - (i) to make high level approach to the Govts. of UK, USA and Taiwan for making available the above inquiry reports and their findings. And (ii) to approach the new Govt. of Russia to reveal all papers, documents, reports, etc. about Subhas Chandra Bose available in the files of the KGB and in the secret archives of Stalin.

12. If these reports of international inquiries are available then it will be possible for the Govt. of India to come to a definite conclusion, whether Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose actually died in the reported air crash at Taihoku on Aug 18, 1945 or he managed to escape to Soviet Russia under the cover of the cooked up story of his air crash death.

Such Investigative Inquiry is possible only if a high level approach is made to the Govt. of UK, the Govt. of USA, the Govt. of Taiwan and the Govt. of Russia by our Govt. at the Center.

We, therefore hope, that you will ask your Ministry to re-open and re-examine the whole issue for holding an Investigative Inquiry about Disappearance of Netaji to let the country to know what really happened to the Maha Kshatrya of our national liberation.

● This is our sacred national duty before we move to celebrate Netaji's Birth Centenary in 1997.

With regards and namaskar,

Shri S.B.Chavan
Home Minister
Govt. of India
New Delhi 110001

Yours sincerely,

Samar Guha

(SAMAR GUHA)

PS: I am also sending a documentary book of mine 'Netaji - Dead or Alive ?' on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose along with the copy of a recently published booklet.



No. 489/Dm/91

12
विदेश उप मंत्री
भारत
DEPUTY MINISTER
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
INDIA

March 26, 1991

Dear Prof. Samar Guha

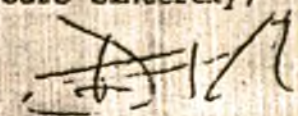
Kindly refer to your letter of 26th February, 1991 addressed to Shri Devi Lal concerning high level investigation into "secret documents" on the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

2. I would like to assure you that this Ministry has already initiated follow-up action in this regard. We are awaiting results to our enquiries.

3. We shall keep you informed of any further developments.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,


(DIGVIJAY SINGH)

Prof. Samar Guha,
Ex-Member of Parliament,
8/2, Central Park,
CALCUTTA - 700032

भारत के राष्ट्रपति का संयुक्त सचिव
Joint Secretary to the President of India

No. F. 3/JS P/91

राष्ट्रपति भवन
नई दिल्ली

*Rashtrapati Bhavan
New Delhi*

January 29, 1991.

Dear Professor,

The President wishes me to convey his thanks to you for your letter of January 21, and to let you know that he had taken up the subject with the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister has informed the President that the issue will be looked into.

With regards

Yours sincerely,

Gopal Krishna Gandhi
Gopal Krishna Gandhi

Prof. Samar Guha,
8/2, Central Park,
Calcutta 700032.

COUNTRY MUST KNOW WHAT HAPPENED TO NETAJI

—Samar Guha



COUNTRY MUST KNOW WHAT HAPPENED TO NETAJI

What really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose ? Did he really meet his end in an aircrash at Taihoku in Formosa, on August 18, 1945 ? The news of his alleged accident was broadcast not in the form of any official communique either by the civil or the military authority of Japan. Japan was not yet occupied by the US Army, - its civil and military authority remained in tact. It was the news of the Domai Agency which was broadcast by the Tokyo Radio. In its first broadcast, 5 days after the alleged aircrash, it was said that the dead body of Subhas Chandra Bose, the Head of the Provisional Government of Free India, was flown to Tokyo. But subsequently in another broadcast it was reported that his body was cremated in Formose.

Palpably, the broadcast appeared as nothing but a cooked-up story as it was not substantiated by any positive testimonials or documents. Neither Mahatma Gandhi nor Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India at that time, believed this news broadcast as true. Mahatma Gandhi along with Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya wired Bose family at Calcutta, 'Not to perform sradh ceremony, but to hold mild prayer.' Lord Wavell recorded his reaction in his 'Diary', 'I wonder if the Japanese announcement that Subhas Chandra Bose's death in an aircrash is true. I suspect it very much. It was just what should be given out if he wanted to go underground.' No Government, either of Japan or Wavell nor of the U.K. or the USA at that time or anytime thereafter officially confirmed the report of death of Subhas Chandra Bose.

Gandhiji believed - 'Subhas is Alive'

Gandhiji went on telling the Indian people that he didn't believe Netaji's death news. On 30 Dec 1945 he told us, the Bengal Detenues, most of whom were the colleagues and associates of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, in Dum Dum Jail of Calcutta : 'If someone shows me ashes even then I will not believe that Subhas is not alive. He is alive, - hiding somewhere'. He spoke in Hindi and remained with us for over an hour. Next day, on January 2nd, 1946, he told the press at Contai of Bengal : 'I believe Netaji is alive. He is hiding somewhere.' Gandhiji repeated his belief many times afterwards. After meeting Col. Habibur Rahman in the Red Fort Cell, who claimed to be the lone Indian who travelled with Netaji in the same plane that allegedly crashed, Gandhiji said 'Habib ! whatever you may tell me to the contrary, I still believe Netaji is alive.' Later Gandhi told pressmen : 'Habibur Rahman made a soldier's statement to me.'

Why Gandhiji was so insistant to disbelieve the Japanese report of Netaji's aircrash death ? Was it because of his 'inner voice' ? Many revealing facts came to be known 10 years later which positively indicated why Gandhiji said so. In 1991 an American document found in the archives of the Princeton University positively revealed why Gandhiji believed that 'Subhas is hiding somewhere'.

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Reaction of the British Government

What was the further reaction of Lord Wavell, India's Viceroy in 1945-46 ? A month after the record of his first reaction he noted again in his 'Diary' : 'According to the Japanese of Signapore, Subhas Chandra Bose is definitely dead, but I shall be skeptical till further confirmation.'

After hearing the Japanese broadcast on August 23, 1945, Lord Wavell immediately sent a mixed investigating team of the British and Indian experts to 'arrest Bose - dead or alive' and make a thorough probe into the whole affairs behind the Japanese story of Bose's death.

What was the findings of this Wavell team was not fully reported. But the British Govt. of India cryptically leaked out to the press that Bose died in the reported aircrash. However, what was the exact view of the Wavell Govt. about Subhas Chandra Bose, was secretly despatched to the Attlee Govt. in UK after 67 days of the reported aircrash by its Home Secretary, Mr. R.F.Mudie. It was marked 'Top Secret' and this report was published 30 years after in 'Volume VI' of the British document 'Transfer of Power, 1942-47'. In his lengthy report on Bose Mr. Mudie's confidential despatch noted inter-alia as regard the 'treatment of Bose' these were the following possibilities :

- a) Bringing back to India and try him either for waging War or under the Enemy Agent Ordinance ;
- b) Have him tried by a Court in Burma or Malay for waging War against the King in that country ;
- c) Have him tried by a Military Court outside India ;
- d) Intern him in India ;
- e) Intern him in some other British possessions, e.g., Seychelles islands;
- f) Leave him where he is and not ask for the surrender.'

After analyzing all the eventualities about these alternatives the report concluded 'In many ways the easiest course will be to live him where he is and not ask for his release. Of course, he might in certain circumstances be welcomed by the Russians. This course would raise fewest immediate political difficulty.'

Neither the Wavell Govt. of India nor the Attlee Govt. of U.K., after coming to the above conclusion, made any official confirmation about the reported death of Subhas Chandra Bose, though he was marked as the enemy number one of their Indian Empire. They deliberately kept silent about the report of Subhas Bose's presence in Russia.

Pandit Nehru's Preverification

Everybody in India in 1945-46 disbelieved the Toyko story of Netaji's death. Moulana Azad, the then President of the Congress declined to make any obituary reference in memory of Bose in the first AICC Session held at Bombay on Sept. 23, 1945 after the Quit India Movement, saying, 'The circumstances in which the news of the death of Bose has reached us and the sources responsible for announcement don't make certain that Bose is in fact dead.'

• An American journalist of Chicago Tribune, Alfred Wag, told Pandit Nehru on August

(17)

29, 1945 in Delhi that after the Japanese broadcast 'Bose was alive and seen 4 days ago in Saigon'. On Sept 11, 1945 Nehru himself told API at Jhansi, 'Like many other people, he did not believe the story about the reported death of Subhas Chandra Bose... I have received a number of reports, which have raised me in great doubt and I disbelieve the authenticity of the news'.

Every patriotic Indian expected that after coming into power on August 15, 1947 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of Free India, would consider it as his first national duty to institute a high level investigation to find out what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. But he was found contrarily to adopt an unthinkable attitude of deliberate refusal to entertain any request for any inquiry about Netaji. Why after his own public statement that he disbelieved the news of Subhas Chandra Bose's death Pandit Nehru made a strange volte-face to adopt a completely reversed attitude ?

The answer to it can be found in the article of a former Editor of the Gujarati daily 'Janmabhumi' late Amritlal Seth, who accompanied Pandit Nehru, when he visited Singapore in 1946 as the guest of Admiral Mountbatten. Further evidence came from the text of the 'Nehru Oration' by Mountbatten. Shri Seth informed Sarat Chandra Bose immediately after coming back to India from Singapore, that Mountbatten warned Nehru that, 'If he played up Bose and his INA he will be taking the risk of presenting India on a platter to Bose when he returned back to India'. Yes, Panditji started to instantly comply with the advice of Mountbatten from Singapore itself. He shockingly cancelled his already agreed programme to place a wreath at the spot of the INA Memorial that was demolished by the British Army soon after reoccupation of Singapore. Returning home from Singapore Pandit Nehru was found to shut his mouth completely about anything that concerned Netaji and his INA.

Inquiry by Shah Nawaz Committee

After coming to power as the Prime Minister of Free India, Pandit Nehru, adopted a policy of abject indifference and negligence, nay a covert opposition to everything about Netaji and his heroic legends. Pandit Nehru's worst stance was his stubborn opposition to all requests and appeals made in the Parliament and outside for instituting a judicial inquiry about disappearance of Netaji. For 10 years he turned down all such appeals. But when the citizens of Calcutta decided to set up a non-official inquiry committee in 1956 with Dr. Radha Binode Pal, an internationally reputed jurist of the eminence of Tokyo Trial as its Chairman, Pandit Nehru suddenly announced to form an inquiry committee with Shah Nawaz Khan as its Chairman having no judicial status for the inquiry. But strangely, when even such a 'statement-collecting- committee' was conducting inquiry, Panditji forestalled the very objective of its inquiry by making a statement in the Parliament in which he said : 'I have no doubt today of the fact of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death, is, I think settled beyond doubt'.

How could Shah Nawaz Committee dare to unsettle this 'Settled fact beyond doubt' of Pandit Nehru ? This inquiry, this, queerly concluded in its findings : 'At no stage was the casket containing the ashes sealed, no formal receipt issued, nor again continuous watch kept over it. So, although there cannot be absolute certainty about it, nevertheless, ashes kept in the Renkoji temple, Tokyo, are the ashes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. If ashes are taken to be genuine, Renkoji temple cannot be obviously the final resting place.' What an absurd findings! Can the issue of death of a man like Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose be confirmed by not being 'absolutely certain', but by questioning it with 'if' ?

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Shah Nawaz Committee, however, helped to have access to some very vital documents that were kept secret for 10 years after 1947. These documents showed that according to the intelligence report, in all probability, Netaji took shelter in Soviet Russia under the cover of a cooked-up story of his death. These documents also indicated that Gandhiji and Panditji received a letter from Netaji asking Nehru for making arrangement for his repatriation to India. Particular imports of these documents will be discussed later. But it should be mentioned here that Pandit Nehru suppressed all the vital intelligence reports from the public till 1956.

In 1951 Panditji had sent S.A. Ayer, a former Publicity Minister of Netaji's Azad Hind Govt., to Tokyo to secretly contact Col. Tada to ascertain from him the report about Netaji's death. Genl. Isoda and Col. Tada, were attached to the Japanese wartime Military Headquarters at Saigon. They were the two high ranking Japanese officers who were deputed to prepare and execute the escape-plan of Netaji by Field Marshall Terauchi, highest in command of the S.E. Asia Jap Army. In his confidential report to Nehru, Ayer stated : 'This time I could gather very important information. Col. Tada told me that after the end of the war when Japan surrendered, Terauchi took all responsibility to help Netaji and asked him to go to Kaka Bose (His Excellency Bose) and tell him to reach Russian territory — all help will be given to him.'

In his statement in Lok Sabha, Panditji mentioned other parts of Ayer's confidential report to him which appeared to lend support to Tokyo broadcast, but this vital part was withheld from the House.

Pandit Nehru's conscience, however, appeared to prick during the last few month before he passed away. Although he repeatedly stated in the Parliament that 'Netaji's death was a settled fact beyond doubt' he wrote to Suresh Chandra Bose, an elder brother of Netaji on May 13, 1962 in reply to his letter that 'You asked me to send you proof of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death. I can't send you any precise and direct proof....' Again just about a month before his death replying to a letter from Amiya Nath Bose, a nephew of Netaji, Panditji wrote : 'I agree with you that something should be done to finalise the question of Netaji's death.' Ah ! When it was the time for proper investigation, Nehruji deliberately stalled it !

Confusing Japanese Documents

Japan is the only country which could definitely say or unsay if the report of the plane crash was true. Some documents and information placed before the Shah Nawaz Committee by the Japanese authority revealed a few vital facts :

Firstly, Japan didn't officially make any statement either by its civil or military authority to confirm the report of plane crash on August 18, 1945 involving Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Domai News Agency, a private body, made it over the Tokyo Radio. Later S.A. Ayer, in course of his deposition before Shah Nawaz Committee, told that on request from the Japanese authority at Tokyo, the text of the broadcast was prepared by him and not either by the Japanese Govt. or the Domai News Agency.

Secondly, the plane which reportedly crashed carried 13/14 passengers of which the Pilot, Co-pilot, Radio Engineer, Genl. Shedei, Netaji, — these five persons, who were required to fly to Dairen, reportedly died whereas all the other passengers miraculously survived with minor injuries, although the plane was reported to have had nose-dived, caught instant fire and broke into two parts. Non-Official, Japanese Expert Committee contradicted such a report as 'absurd'. After vertical nose-dive crash of

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a burning plane from a sufficient altitude such selective survivals and selective killings were unthinkable according to their findings.

Thirdly, Japanese authority produced three - four photographs - first one of bandaged Habibur Rahman sitting by the side of a casket, second one of an urn reportedly carrying the ashes of Bose and the third one of a canvas-covered bundle marked as containing the alleged death body of Bose. If the Japanese could take trouble of getting four photographs why another photograph of uncovered body of Bose could not be taken if such a body existed at all? An uncovered body of Bose would have convinced each and everybody of India and of the Anglo-American Power that Bose really died in the aircrash. One such single photograph could have settled all doubts and all controversies about the report of Bose's death. Japanese authority failed to answer convincingly why they could not take a photograph of uncovered body of Bose if he really died.

Fourthly, Japanese Foreign Ministry submitted a cremation certificate of Bose issued by the Taihoku Municipality. It was written in Japanese script. On rendering this certificate into English it was strangely found that it was issued for a Japanese soldier, Ichiro Okura, who died of heart failure. Okura's age, the cause and date of his death and cremation, - nothing tallied with the report of the Tokyo broadcast about 'Chandra Bose.'

Fifthly, although it was stated that Genl. Shedei also died at Taihoku on the same date as a result of the aircrash, but his pension certificate showed that he died in the warfield. Genl. Shedei was appointed to command Japanese Kwantang Army in Manchuria after Russia attacked this Jap territory. Japanese could not produce any record of death and cremation certificate of Genl. Shedei supporting his death at Taihoku.

These few Japanese documents left rather indicative clues to infer that the report of aircrash was just a cooked-up story to cover Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's escape to Russia.

Futile Khosla Commission

Though the Indian people didn't accept the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee and Panditji himself also agreed that 'something should be done to finalize the question of Netaji's death' - nothing was done by the Govt. till 1967. In this year about 350 members of Parliament belonging to all parties signed a memorandum and submitted it to the Central Govt. urging for a fresh judicial inquiry about Netaji. In no time before, such a memorandum was ever signed by the majority members of the Parliament for submitting to the Govt. for a national cause. However, it took over two years' persistent agitation to make the Govt. of India agree to set up on July 11, 1970 a 'one-man judicial Commission to inquire into disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.' A retired Chief Justice of Punjab High Court was appointed its Chairman. After 4 years of unnecessarily prolonged sittings of the Commission, Justice Khosla submitted his report to the Govt. on June 30, 1974. Khosla Commission's Report appeared just as a chimera of a judicial findings, - worse than the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee. Mr. Khosla made no effort to search for national and international documents connected with the Netaji affairs, made no analysis of the Japanese documents produced before the Commission, brushed aside the evidence of the 84 Indian witnesses giving cursory attention to them while devoting his attention mainly on the evidence of five Japanese witnesses claiming as co-passengers of Netaji and the fifth one of a doctor, who said to have treated

injured Bose. Though none of them could produce any document to verify their identities, statements and claims. Mr. Khosla treated them as 'truthful witnesses' to draw his conclusion exclusively on their evidence that Bose died after the reported air crash.

Worst still, Mr. Khosla exceeded all his limits in making political commentary in unbelievably derogatory terms by calling Netaji a 'Puppet', a 'Pawn', a 'Quisling' of Japan, etc. in his report. In his report atleast in 27 places he made outrageous remarks denigrating the revolutionary personality of Netaji. This man, violating all judicial norms, was seen to bring a 'present' for Mrs. Indira Gandhi while returning from Taiwan and write her biography while working as the Chairman of the Commission. Further, before his report was placed on the table of Lok Sabha he published a book calling it 'Last Days of Netaji'. Mr. Khosla was severely indicted by the Calcutta High Court for his derogatory remarks about Netaji. He also faced a Privilege Motion in Lok Sabha for violating the terms of the Inquiry Commission. But he somehow escaped harsh punishments by offering unconditional apology to the High Court and the Speaker of Lok Sabha. Thus, because of his tendentious behaviour of the Chairman of the Netaji Inquiry Commission, the judicial and moral basis of his findings were vitiated in such a way that its whole objective was completely frustrated.

Findings Rejected by the Morarji Govt.

Because of the sudden imposition of Emergency in June 1975 and arrest of Opposition leaders, including the present writer, the report of Khosla Commission was debated in Lok Sabha as late as in 1978 after the formation of the Janata Govt. A documentary book, 'Netaji - Dead or Alive?' written by the writer was released by the then President of India Shri N. Sanjeeva Reddy. The long debate and the documentary materials published in the book convinced a man of very rigid outlook like Shri Morarji Desai, that the two inquiries about Netaji failed to serve the purpose of the investigation. In reply to the debate, Prime Minister, Shri Morarji Desai said in a statement in Lok Sabha on Sept 3, 1978 :

'Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission held the report of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death as true. Since then reasonable doubts have been cast on the correctness reached in the two reports and various important contradictions in the testimony of the witnesses have been noticed. Some further contemporary official documentary records have also become available. In the light of those doubts and contradictions and those records, Government find it difficult to accept that the earlier conclusions are decisive.'

It was very vital statement. Mrs. Indira Gandhi discarded the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee while instituting Khosla Commission in 1970. And now in 1978 Shri Morarji Desai rejected the findings of both the inquiries to reopen the issue of disappearance of Netaji. It now, consequently, devolved on the Morarji Govt. to find out, - then, what really happened to Netaji? Morarjibhai suggested an 'Investigative Inquiry' in an effort to resolve the Netaji issue as he felt that after so many years any further judicial inquiry would not serve the main purpose. But before his suggestion could be materialized the Janata Govt. fell.

Decision of Investigative Inquiry by the Chandra Sekhar Govt.

The whole issue of renewal of Netaji inquiry remained muted for about 10 years. After formation of the Janata Dal Govt. the issue was taken up with the Govt. of Shri V.P.Singh, who asked his Minister of External Affairs, Shri I.K.Gujral to 'look into the matter'. But before any step could be taken, V.P.Singh Govt. had to quit. The matter was again taken up with the Govt. of Shri Chandra Sekhar. In both these moves the President of India, Shri R.Venkataraman very patriotically extended his moral support to the cause behind the inquiry.

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In fact, he took initiative to ask both Shri V.P.Singh and Shri Chandra Sekhar to fulfil the national duty to find out what really happened to Netaji. In a letter on May 29, 1992, The President assured that he will again pursue the matter of Investigative inquiry about disappearance of Netaji with the present Prime Minister, Shri P.V.Narasimha Rao. His letter :

**PRESIDENT
REPUBLIC OF INDIA**

New Delhi,
May 29, 1992.

Dear Shri Samar Guha,

I am in receipt of your letter dated May 27. I shall pursue the matter with the P.M.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

R.VENKATARAMAN

Prof. Samar Guha,
8/2, Central Park,
Calcutta - 700032.

Finally, On March 26, 1991 the Deputy Minister of External Affairs informed the writer in a letter : 'The Ministry has initiated a High Level Investigation into the secret documents on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. We are awaiting results of our inquiry. We shall keep you informed about any further development.' His letter :

**DEPUTY MINISTER
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
INDIA**

No.489/DM/91

March 26, 1991.

Dear Prof. Samarjee,

1. Kindly refer to your letter of 26th February, 1991 addressed to Shri Devi Lal concerning high level investigation into "secret documents" on the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.
2. I would like to assure you that this Ministry has already initiated follow-up action in this regard. We are awaiting results to our enquiries.
3. We shall keep you informed of any further developments.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(DIGVIJAY SINGH)

Prof. Samar Guha,
Ex-Member of Parliament,
8/2, Central Park,
CALCUTTA - 700032.

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But because of resignation of Chandra Sekhar Govt. this laudable decision about the Investigative Inquiry remained hanging in uncertainty.

A National Task for Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao

It appears that the present Prime Minister, Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao has not been posted with all facts about the rejection of the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission and the subsequent decision of the Chandra Sekhar Govt. to institute an 'Investigative Inquiry' about the issue of disappearance of Netaji. Otherwise the Govt. would not have used the word 'Posthumously' while announcing Bharat Ratna for Netaji. Now, it is a legal, moral and sacred patriotic task for Narasimha Rao Govt. to effectively work-out the decision of the Chandra Sekhar Govt. to institute a 'High level Investigative Inquiry about disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose' and to 'finalize', to quote Pandit Nehru, the poignant issue that remained hanging about the fate of the epic hero of the Indian liberation.

An Investigative Inquiry, - Why ?

Why an Investigative Inquiry instead of another public inquiry about Netaji ? Only four Japanese, - the Chief of the Staff of the Japanese Army of the Tokyo Headquarters, Field Marshall Terauchi of S.E.Asia Japanese Command at Saigon, Genl. Isoda, the Chief of the Hikari-Kikan and Col. Tada, a trusted officer of Terauchi's Headquarter, were the four key figures, who programmed and executed the escape-plan of Netaji to convey him to Russian territory of Siberia across the Manchurian border. All these principal persons are now dead. Political situation in Japan has now changed so much, that few people of its administration after 47 years can be expected to recollect the episode of the political move around the movement of Subhas Chandra Bose after fall of Japan.

Now mainly the Secret documents, reports, informations and findings of various inquiries that are likely to be available in the archives of Japan, UK, USA, Taiwan and most importantly of former the USSR, now the Russian Federation, can provide positive facts about what really happened to Netaji.

Soon after the report of the aircrash involving Netaji, the Wavell Govt. of India, Adml. Mountbatten of S.E.Asia Allied Command and Genl. Mac Arthur of the U.S.Pacific Army - instituted three 'immediate inquiry' separately to verify the truth about the alleged aircrash death of Subhas Chandra Bose. After reoccupation of Formosa (now Taiwan), on orders from Genl. Chiang-Kai-Shek, the Mayor of Taipei also conducted an inquiry to verify whether any air accident took place at Taipei (Taihoku) airport on August 18, 1945. And if so, whether Subhas Chandra Bose was in it.

None of the reports of these inquiries or their findings have been published. Only Wavell Govt. non-officially leaked-out to the press that its inquiry found that the report of aircrash death of Subhas Chandra Bose was correct. However, this was only for the consumption of the Indian public. Neither the Govt. of Wavell nor Mountbatten nor the Govt. of U.K. at any time officially confirmed Netaji's death. What the Wavell Govt. came to know after its investigation was secretly communicated to the U.K. Govt. in the form of 'Top Secret' despatch by R.F.Mudie, the Home Member of the Viceroy which has already been quoted earlier. This report informed Attlee Govt. that under the cover of the story of his death Bose took asylum in Russia.

Mountbatten's Inquiry Report

Mountbatten's inquiry report was never published, nor its findings were made known. A few pages of Mountbatten's Diary were given to the Shah Nawaz Committee in which it was

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found that the British Investigation Officer observed : '..... It appears that the whole thing is suspicious.... The description of the funeral is more suspicious.... Perhaps the aircrash was cooked-up at Taihoku. Possibly after that Bose escaped somewhere.'

In 1978 the then Indian High Commissioner in U.K., Shri N.G.Goray, wrote to Lord Mountbatten : 'I would like to refer particularly to pages 137, 138 and 139 of Volume VI (of the Transfer of Power, 1942-47)' : that the Govt. of India knew that Shri Bose was alive and they were discussing how he should be dealt with. As you took over from Lord Wavell it will not be wrong to presume that you must have come to know every detail about the incident.'

Mountbatten very much knew the outcome of the inquiry which he himself ordered as the S.E.Asia Allied Command. And further as being a Viceroy of India, succeeding Lord Wavell, he had many reports about Netaji in possession of his Govt. He was keenly interested about Bose as he warned Pandit Nehru at Singapore in early 1946 'not to play-up Bose and his INA', as he believed that Bose was alive. But Lord Mountbatten preferred to evasively reply to Goray on March 10, 1978 : '... there was no official record of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose's death in his archives.' Look ! how truthfully behaved the 'Admiral of the Fleet, Earl Mountbatten of Burma, KG, PC, GCB, OM, GCSI, GCIE, GCVO, DSO, FRS, Braodlands, Romsey, Hampshire 905 9 D. !'

However, evasive though he tried to be in his reply to Shri Goray - one thing he did truthfully that he didn't confirm Bose's death.

The British Global Military Intelligence of the War days, briefly called CSDIC, deputed B.C.Chakraborty, an Indian senior officer, to interrogate Col. Habibur Rahman. Chakraborty told Khosla Commission : 'After analysing all the reports that were in hands at the time with the CSDIC, it was obvious that Col. Habibur Rahman told lies and the Japanese Govt. concealed facts. Their reply was nothing other than a product of conspiracy regarding the movement of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose on August 18, 1945 : None of them (the British Military Intelligence or the U.S.) believed that the information about Netaji's death could be correct'.

It is interesting to note that according to the evidence of Mir Chandani and B.C.Mallik, two former Chiefs of the Indian Intelligence, they told Khosla Commission that the Govt. of U.K. and the Govt. of India that pursued all the reports about Bose are still in possession of Govt. of U.K. besides the reports of Mountbatten's inquiry which, according to their policy decision, will be published after 100 years of 'The Transfer of Power'.

Probe by Genl. Mac Arthur

The investigation report of Genl. Mac Arthur's team was very vital because the U.S. team reached Tokyo and Formose (Taiwan) much earlier than the British team. This U.S. team examined all the concerned Japanese officer at Tokyo and Taihoku and repeatedly interrogated Col. Habibur Rahman. But nothing has been published so far about Mac Arthur's inquiry.

However, some facts were indirectly known about this report. At the time of Tokyo Trial after the War, Genl. Tojo, Genl. Fuzyama and other highest war-time Jap leaders, who were facing trial, were found to stand up and bow down their heads very reverentially when Chandra Bose's name was mentioned during the session of the Tokyo Trial. The U.S. jurists of the Trial being curiously intrigued by the performance of the civil and military Jap leaders of the war-days asked their Indian colleague, Dr. Radha Vinod Pal, why the Japanese behaved in that way when the name of Subhas Chandra Bose was mentioned ? They were told that it was the Japanese tradition of showing respect to the man whom they held in highest esteem. The U.S. jurist told Dr. Pal that 'what they know about U.S. inquiry, Subhas Chandra Bose didn't die in the alleged aircrash, - he escaped'. This information was given to the press by

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Dr. Pal after returning to India. Uptill now the U.S. Govt. have not mentioned anything about the report and the findings of the Mac Arthur's inquiry.

Investigation by Taipei Mayor

The Mayor of Taipei (Taihoku) of Taiwan (Formosa) soon after Chinese reoccupation of Formosa about a month after fall of Japan made an inquiry to verify the report of Bose's death in an aircrash at the Taipei airfield. The President of the Nationalist China, Genl. Chiang- Kai- Shek had very friendly relation with Subhas Chandra Bose in pre-war days. According to the report of H.V.Kamath, Prokash Vir Shastri and Mulka Govind Reddy — all former members of Parliament, who visited Taiwan on invitation by an unofficial organisation there, - the Mayor of Taipei told them that their inquiry could not verify the report of any aircrash at Taipei on August 18, 1945 involving Subhas Chandra Bose.

Taihoku airfield was the place of occurrence of the reported aircrash. But Pandit Nehru didn't allow Shah Nawaz Committee to visit Taipei (Taihoku). However, Khosla Commission was allowed to visit this city, but Mr. Khosla refused to write to the Govt. of Taiwan to give him a copy of the Taipei Mayor's inquiry report on diplomatic plea, although the Taiwan Govt. was willing to respond to Indian request. The matter later was raised in Lok Sabha, when the then Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh, denied if any such instruction was sent to Khosla. This report of the Mayor of Taipei is still available in the archives of the Taiwan Govt.

Habibur Rahman's Story

Col. Habibur Rahman stuck to his story of Netaji's death although he could convince neither the British, nor the American investigating team, nor any of his INA colleagues. After interrogation of Habibur Rahman by the British team it observed: 'Habibur Rahman is unwilling to come out with truth'. Everybody took his version as that of a soldier's statement in defence of the escape-plan of his master.

Habibur Rahman showed a rectangular watch with a burnt band saying that Netaji had it in his wrist when he was engulfed in the burning flame after the aircrash. But it was known to every INA personnel that Netaji always used a round shaped wrist watch and not any rectangular one. When Bhulabhai Desai, the Chief of the INA Defence Council asked Habibur Rahman to open the Watch, it was found that the oil inside the watch remained intact without forming any clot, although Habibur Rahman claimed that it was almost consumed in flame at the time of aircrash. Shri Desai indicatively smiled and returned the watch to Rahman without any comment.

While describing all about the aircrash, Habibur Rahman used to say that when the plane crashed he was wearing an wollen jumper, whereas Netaji had a Khaki suit on his body. When he was asked how was it that not a single thread of his wollen jumper was burnt but Netaji's less inflammable Khaki suit was 'horribly' caught in fire ? Habibur fumbled to answer this searching question.

Again, he said that he made frantic effort with both his hands to put out the flame all around Netaji's body after the aircrash. But when he was asked how could it happen that the palms of his two hands bore no burnt marks whereas the dorsal of his two hands showed some hazy marks, which in all probability could be of acid-burn? He looked vacant and attempted no explanation.

In 1947 before he moved to Pakistan, Habibur Rahman lived with his father-in-law who was the 'Prime Minister' of the Princely State of Alwar. He confessed to Mr. Khemchand the ICS Secretary to the Alwar Prime Minister that Netaji's death-story was nothing but cooked-up.

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In 1956 Habibur Rahman came to Delhi from Pakistan to appear before the Shah Nawaz Committee. However, a few days before his departure for Delhi the 'Civil and Military Gazette' of Lahore published a news that Habibur Rahman told this paper that Netaji didn't die in the air crash. This report was published in 'East Pakistan' dailies also. But he declined to contradict it. Habibur Rahman refused to appear before Khosla Commission to avoid cross examination by the judicial commission. Before non-judicial Shah Nawaz Committee he submitted just a written statement.

In 1966 when a Japanese biographer of Netaji, Mr. Hayashida, met Habibur in Rawalpindi, he repeated nothing than the same story of Netaji's death but added : '**Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was the greatest revolutionary that the Indian Subcontinent produced in the present century.....Many in Bharat still believe that he is still alive and will turn up someday. How we wish he had come back alive ! The flame of freedom lit by him is still burning and will continue to inspire the freedom fighters all over the world for all times to come.**' Oh ! how Habibur Rahman failed to hold back the truthful impulse of his inner conscience in some sensitive moment !

Internal Documents, 'Missing or Destroyed'

Nehru Govt. got in its possession all the secret reports of the Govt. of Wavell and Mountbatten after the 'Transfer of Power'. Panditji was also known to maintain a special file about Netaji. But Nehru Govt. placed only a few documents before the Shah Nawaz Committee and Indira Govt. also supplied almost the same package of files again for the scrutiny of the Khosla Commission. These documents included a few pages of Mountbatten's Diary, some parts of Figgis Report and a small part of the report of CSDIC. Some irrelevant papers were also sent to the Commission. However, inside the package of these official documents a very intriguing official note was found enlisting some 40 secret files about Netaji marked as 'Either Missing' or 'Papers Destroyed' ? Pandit Nehru's personal and other official files regarding the issue of Netaji were kept by Md. Yunus. 'Papers destroyed' were about 15. 'Notes destroyed' were about 12. 'Prime Minister's Secretariate File 'missing or destroyed' included - (i) Investigation into circumstances leading to the death of Subhas Chandra Bose, (ii) 'Indian National Army (INA) in the Far East', and (iii) 'INA Treasure'. These files were either deliberately destroyed or intentionally withheld. Mr. Khosla dared not to ask the Govt. why these valuable secret files were either 'destroyed or missing' and what were the contents of these files?

Netaji's Destination was Russia

It has been established from all documents and evidences that Netaji's destination after fall of Japan was Russia. Four days before the surrender of Japan on August 15, 1945 a special messenger from the Imperial headquarter of Tokyo, Mr. Negishi, rushed to Seramban in Malay to handover a confidential message from the highest Japanese authority. It showed in what respect the Japanese held Netaji. This confidential message urged Netaji to Immediately move to Saigon to fly out of the S.E.Asia zone without any delay. However, instead of accompanying Mr. Negishi, Netaji rushed to Singapore, the Hd. Qrt. of Azad Hind Govt. and held an emergent meeting of his Cabinet to decide the future course of the Azad Hind Govt. and the INA in the event of Japanese surrender. Netaji proposed to surrender to the British Army at Singapore. But his Cabinet unanimously decided that Netaji should make every effort to cross into Soviet Russia, whereas the Cabinet Ministers and the INA would surrender to the British Army at Singapore. After arguing with his Cabinet Ministers, Netaji finally agreed to bow-down to honour the wishes of his Cabinet. On 14th August Netaji attended a cultural function of the Jhansi Regiment without disclosing what was going to happen next day.

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As Netaji was delaying to reach Saigon, on August 12, Genl. Isoda, the Chief of the Hikari Kikan and Mr. Hachia, Jap Ambassador to the Azad Hind Govt. rushed to Singapore. On 13th August another messenger from Tokyo, Col. Sakai, reached Singapore to persuade Netaji to leave the area without any further delay. Netaji had several secret meetings with Col. Sakai and in one such meeting Col. Habibur Rahman was called in and directed by Netaji to hand over the charge of his office to Mj. Genl. M.Z.Kiani, who was given overall authority by Netaji to surrender to the British Army, separately from the Japanese, on behalf of the Azad Hind Govt. and its INA.

Netaji reached Bangkok on Aug 16, along with Genl. Isoda, Hachia, Negeshi, Col. Sakai, Col. Habibur Rahman, S.A. Ayer, Debnath Das, Pritam Singh, Mj. Hasan, Col. Gulgara Singh and others. At Bangkok, Netaji had several secret conclaves with Genl. Isoda and Col. Tada who were specially deputed by Field Marshall Terauchi to finalise Netaji's escape-plan. Again at Bangkok also Col. Habibur Rahman was exclusively called in by Netaji in one of such meetings. None else of the INA was asked to attend the secret conclaves. Next day on 17th August a plane took off at about 5 p.m. from Saigon carrying Netaji, Habibur Rahman, Genl. Shedei and few other Japanese Officers. The plane had an overnight hop at Tourane in North Vietnam.

What was the destination of Netaji ? Except Col. Habibur Rahman who made every effort to conceal all facts about the fateful movement of Netaji, on August 18, 1945, all other important Japanese witnesses like Genl. Isoda, Hachia, Negeshi and Col. Tada and all the Ministers of the Azad Hind Govt. and the important INA Officers categorically told the Khosla Commission that Netaji's plan was to go to Russia via Dairen.

Genl. Isoda and Col. Tada of FM Terauchi's HQ of Saigon were entrusted by the supreme Japanese command to prepare and execute Netaji's escape plan to convey him safely to Russian Siberia. Genl. Isoda unreservedly told Khosla Commission: **'The purpose of Netaji's plan was to go to Soviet Union.... He was going to Russia via Saigon.... There was no plan to stay at Saigon. Genl. Isoda's Statement was much earlier corroborated by Col. Tada in a secret communication to S.A. Ayer when Pandit Nehru unannouncedly sent him to meet Col. Tada in 1951. In his 'confidential note' to Nehru, Ayer wrote: 'Col. Tada told me that it was arranged that Subhas Chandra Bose will fly in a plane in which Genl. Shedei was going. Genl. Shedei will look after Subhas Chandra Bose upto Dairen (in Manchuria) and thereafter he would fall back on his own resources to contact Russian. Japanese would announce to the world that Bose had disappeared from Dairen. That would absolve them of all responsibility in the eyes of the Allied power....' . After arrival of Col. Sakai from Tokyo it was found that Terauchi's plan coincided with the plan of the Tokyo Imperial Headquarters. Col. Tada further disclosed to Ayer that '.... The Japanese HQ had planned to make a false announcement of Netaji's disappearance.'**

Col. Tada's disclosure showed that both the Imperial HQ and the HQ of Terauchi at Saigon planned to fly Netaji to Dairen with Genl. Shedei from where Gen. Shedei was to escort Netaji up to Siberia across the Manchurian border. To execute this plan five days were required and that was why although the plane was reported as have had crashed on August 18, the so-called death news of Netaji was broadcast on August 23.

Khosla Commission was told by all the Cabinet Ministers of the Azad Hind Govt. that Netaji maintained a special liaison with Jakob Malik, the war-time Russian Ambassador at Tokyo.

That Netaji reached Moscow has also been verified by several reports of the British intelligence sent to the Wavell Govt. in late 1945 and in early 1946. These informations, which the Govt. of Nehru didn't disclose in 1946 came before the Shah Nawaz Committee in 1956 alongwith the Govt. papers submitted before it. One of these reports says '.... There is a secret report which says Nehru received a letter from Bose saying that he was in Russia and that he wanted to escape to India. This information alleges that Gandhiji and Sarat Bose are those who were aware of this. It is probably that a letter arrived about the time Gandhiji made his public statement.'

In another intelligence report it was stated that 'Bose' was in Russia. Assuming the name of Ghilzai Malang (It is known that Netaji was a past-master in assuming false names). In the third intelligent report it was said '..... In Dec 1945 a report said that Russian Ambassador in Kabul informed that Bose was in Moscow. In a report received from Tehran stated that Maradoff, the Russian Vice-Consul General, disclosed in March (1946) that Bose is in Russia.....'.

The British intelligence pursued this reports for further probe and submitted them to the Govt. of Wavell. These reports were said to be, as communicated to Khosla Commission, 'either missing or destroyed'.

Shri Shyamlal Jain of Meerut, who was a steno of Mr. Asaf Ali, the then Secretary of the INA Defence Council, told Khosla Commission that he was asked by Pandit Nehru on Dec 26/27, 1945 in the residence of Mr. Asaf Ali to make four copies of a note which read: '.... Bose arrived today, August 24, 1945, at Dairen at 1.30 afternoon alongwith Genl. Shedel, proceeded towards Russian territory, the Jeep returned after about 3 hours' Pandit Nehru sent a copy of this letter to the U.K. Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, asking him how Russia, their War- time ally, could provide shelter to Bose. This letter to Mr. Attlee was also typed by Shyamlal Jain. It appears unthinkable that Panditji could write such a letter to Attlee. But neither the Govt. nor Mr. Khosla challenged the statement of Shyamlal Jain.

Most positive and authentic information came from the source of the British Govt. in their documents 'Transfer of Power - 1942- 47' published in 1975. It has already been mentioned earlier that the British Govt. had the information that Netaji reached Russia and but preferred to remain silent about this report.

Many other indirect hints came about Netaji's presence in Russia. On reaching India after serving in Moscow as India's first Ambassador, Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, made a startling statement at Bombay on her coming back to India. But after reaching Delhi she shut her mouth completely. Khosla Commission asked her, sending a formal letter, if she knew that Netaji was in Russia. She declined to appear before the Commission sending a strange reply: 'I have not met Subhas Chandra Bose after 1940'. Mr. Khosla didn't dare to summon her for cross examination.

The second Ambassador to Moscow Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan confided his very close Calcutta friend Dr. Saroj Ray, an eminent philosopher of Calcutta University that he came to know that 'Subhas Bose is in captivity in Stalin's Russia.' This information was communicated to Shri Morarji Desai by the great historian Dr. R.C.Majumdar, an intimate friend of Dr. Saroj Roy.

Netaji in Russia - Two Revealing Reports

However, besides this indirect information, a revealing report came from a Bharat Heavy Engineering Corpn. Engineer, Shri A.Sarkar, now residing at Calcutta, who was sent to Russia three times by the Corporation for training in manufacture of heavy machineries. Sarkar learnt

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Russian quite well. He came in contact with a German-Jew, B.A. Zerobin, who was Deputy Chief of a Machine Building Plant (Machinostroitel'nyy zavod) at Gorlovka near the city of Dnepropetrovsk. Mr. Zerobin told Sarkar that while he was in a Siberian Re-orientation Camp after being captured in Berlin, he surprisingly met Bose in the Camp. It was in 1961. Zerobin claimed that he saw Bose earlier in Berlin during the days of War. According to Zerobin, one day Bose was brought to the Re-orientation Camp in a car accompanied by two Mongolian guards, one acting as his interpreter. Zerobin rushed to Bose exclaiming: 'Sir, I met you in Berlin?' Bose replied, 'Quite likely'. Bose asked Zerobin, 'What are you doing here?' Zerobin: 'I don't know what for'. Zerobin again asked Bose: 'What is your programme, Sir? Are you going back to India?' Bose replied: 'Expected to be soon'. Bose and Zerobin were talking in German. The Mongolian interpreter intervened and said, 'Not allowed'. Zerobin said that he saw Bose in the Re-orientation Camp only on two occasions.

Zerobin warned Sarkar that if he divulged anything about Bose in Russia it would cost lives of both, - of Zerobin and Sarkar too. Notwithstanding Zerobin's warning Sarkar tried to contact Indian Embassy at Moscow. But he was sternly warned by one of the Secretaries to shut his mouth about the matter. Frightened Sarkar remained muted for years.

After Glasnost and Perestroika when liberal winds began to blow in Russia, a former Chairman of the Lok Sabha Privilege Committee (present writer) wrote a long letter to Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, giving all available facts about the reports of Netaji's going to Russia after the fall of Japan. This letter was separately forwarded to Gorbachev by the two former Presidents of India, Shri N. Sanjeeva Reddy and Shri Gyani Jail Singh with their own comments. Shri S. Nijalingappa, the former oldest President of the Congress, also sent another letter to the Russian leader. But all these letters remained unacknowledged and unreplyed.

Latest positive confirmation about Netaji's presence in Russia in 1946 came from a document found in the archives of the Princeton University of USA in 1990. It is the copy of the letter written on 22nd July 1946 by Khurshed Behn to the eminent American journalist Louis Fischer, who came in close contact with Mahatma Gandhi. Giving briefly the idea about the political situation in India in 1946 Khurshed Behn wrote to Fischer: 'At heart the Indian Army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army (INA of Bose). If Bose comes with the help of Russia neither Gandhiji nor Congress will be able to reason with the country. Also (if) Russia for propaganda purposes declares itself an Asiatic country, then there is no hope of an European alliance acceptable to India.' This letter was written to Louis Fischer as he had access to the USA President.

It was a hand written letter as it was very confidential. Khurshed Behn was a very trusted disciple of Mahatma Gandhi and lived with him in his Wardha Ashram. It was obvious that Khurshed Behn really wrote the letter to Louis Fischer being dictated by Gandhiji.

Khurshed Behn never moved an inch without the hint from the Mahatma. This letter provided a definite affirmation why Gandhiji made repeated statements in 1946 telling the Indian people that he believed 'Netaji is alive and hiding some where.'

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru knew all these facts about Netaji's taking shelter in Russia. But he did nothing to contact Stalin or his successor Russian leaders to enquire about Netaji and arrange for his repatriation to his motherland. Rather after getting into power in Delhi Pandit Nehru was seen to adopt an attitude of stoic silence regarding anything about Netaji. Regrettably, no other Indian Govt. after Nehru also made any efforts to contact the Govt. of USSR to ascertain all facts published about Netaji's taking shelter in that country.

Now an Unfulfilled National Duty for Shri Narasimha Rao

Mr. Clement Attlee who piloted the Indian Independence Bill in the House of Commons came to visit India as a private citizen in mid-fifty. He was asked at Calcutta Raj Bhavan by the then acting Governor of West Bengal, Justice Phani Bhusan Chakraborty : 'Mr. Attlee, why did you quit India so precipitously after winning the Great War ?'. Prompt was the reply from the former Prime Minister of Britain : 'Because of the activities of Subhas Chandra Bose.' Yes, our Sub-continent which is now called India, Pakistan and Bangladesh got independence in 1947 because of the irresistible thrust of the revolutionary legends of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and his INA. After the last Great War when the Saga of the Azad Hind Revolution raised a volcanic upsurge of militant patriotism that shook the very foundation of British Raj in India every Indian leader, except Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahammad Ali Jinnah, was seen to vie with one another in showing their eloquent homages on Netaji. But after India attained freedom nothing was done to acknowledge our national gratitude to the greatest national hero of our independence. Nay, no effective move was made to find out what really happened to him.

After 10 years of persistent agitations Pandit Nehru formed Shah Nawaz Committee 'to enquire into 'death of Netaji'. The Committee produced a report which the Indian people refused to accept. Again in 1967 more than 350 Members of Parliament launched a fresh agitation for instituting a judicial inquiry into Netaji's disappearance. After more than 2 year's continuous agitation the Govt. of Indira Gandhi instituted 'A one-man Judicial Commission to inquire into disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.' But the whole inquiry was vitiated by the tendentious motivation of its Chairman, Justice Khosla for which he had to unconditionally apologize once before the Calcutta High Court and then again before Lok Sabha. On Sept 3, 1978 Morarji Desai, the then Prime Minister rejected the findings of both Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission. As the issue of the inquiry about Netaji was reopened by the Govt., Shri Morarji Desai suggested an 'Investigative Inquiry' to finalise the matter of the Netaji-inquiry. But no move could be made as his Govt. fell in 1979.

Again the pending issue of the proposed Investigative Inquiry about Netaji was taken up by the successive Govts. of Shri V.P.Singh and Shri Chandra Sekhar. It was because of the patriotic and moral intervention of the President of India, Shri R.Venkataraman, Chandra Sekhar Govt. announced on March 1991; 'starting of a High Level Investigative Inquiry about Disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose into the documents available with Govts. of UK, USA, USSR, Japan and others'. But this move also got bogged because of resignation of the Chandra Sekhar Govt.

All hopes now rests with the willingness and the initiative of the veteran Freedom Fighter, Shri Narasimha Rao. Will India's present Prime Minister fulfil the objective of the Investigative Inquiry about Netaji as has already been decided by his predecessor Govt. ? If he feels it as our patriotic task to fulfil our unfulfilled national duty to Netaji, then his Govt will have to make a sincere and serious move to execute this investigation in a proper manner.

Firstly, the Prime Minister of India would have to write to all the Govts. of UK, USA and Taiwan for making available the reports of the inquiries already made by them long before about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose of India.

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Secondly, the Govt. should write to the Japanese Govt. to provide all documents connected with the reports of the aircrash at Taihoku (Taipei) allegedly involving Netaji.

Thirdly, which is most vital, the Prime Minister of India should approach the new Russian Govt. and its sister's States to let India know what KGB know about Netaji's taking shelter in the former USSR. Now a new wind of freedom and liberalism is blowing in Russia and if our Govt. in such radically changed milieu take up the issue in all earnestness with the present Russian Govt. there is no reason why the present Govt. of Russia will not come out with all facts about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose that were and are still locked in the KGB files Stalin's achieves and other quarters.

In 1946 the Govt. of Communist China also featured in various news relating to Netaji. The Govt. of India should also approach the Communist regime of China to find out if they have any facts with them about Subhas Chandra Bose.

Lastly, the Govt. of India should make a thorough search to find out from their own official files and archives what were those 'top secret files' which were reported as 'either missing or destroyed'. What were the contents of these files should be carefully inquired into and all efforts should be made to trace Pandit Nehru's special files about Netaji and the other files left behind by the Govt. of Wavell and Mountbatten at the time of Transfer of Power.

The INA treasure that have been kept in the Delhi National Museum, — all about its sources, who brought them, how they were collected, — all facts should be inquired into.

Efforts should also be made to contact the family of Col. Habibur Rahman, who died two years back, to ascertain if he left any document, diary or any note about Netaji.

About 50 years after the last Great War there is no reason to believe that the Allied Powers' past political prejudices against Subhas Chandra Bose will stand any more in the way of their cooperation with the proposed Investigative Inquiry. For Russia, it is the most opportune moment when a friendly move by the Govt. of India is likely to succeed to convince the Russian Govt. to give out all facts, reports, documents and information about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's taking shelter in Russia that are in possession or were in possession of the former KGB and other Russian secret sources.

The Govt. of India should set up a high level expert committee, to draw out the parameter and modality of its functioning to scan, scrutinise and judge all the documents likely to be available from the sources of the foreign governments and from the internal sources of our Govt. If our Govt. make a determined and honest effort the proposed Investigative Inquiry will certainly succeed to finally let our countrymen know what really happened to our Netaji.

Unanswered still Remains the Questions !

Netaji is no longer any political challenge to anybody. He is also not dead legally. The issue is still open before the Govt. There is no proof of his death in the alleged aircrash. There is no reports that he died elsewhere. There is no visual proof, as well, of his being alive. The longing question still remained unanswered. Then, what happened to our Netaji ?

Is he still languishing in the desolate cell of a Siberian Concentration Camp ? Has he been killed there by Stalin or did he die a gruelling death in a lonely cell ? Or, by the grace

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of the Maha Shakti he always worshipped, has the revolutionary pilgrim of India succeeded to come out of the Russian Concentration Camp ? Is he now living incognito as a 'Sanyasin' - a supreme consummation of his spiritual aspiration from the days of his early youth ?

We do not know yet what really happened to Netaji. But it is a sacred national duty that we have failed so long to know what really happened to the Maha Kshatriya of Modern India. Will Shri Narasimha Rao, a former Freedom Fighter, rise above all small political considerations to accept the national task of finding what really happened to the Netaji of the Indian people ? If Shri Rao fulfills this task his name will remain enshrined in the hearts of the Indian people. If Gandhiji survived a few years more he would have raised storm in India to know the truth about Netaji, who 'gambled away his life' for the emancipation of his motherland. Let us not remain ungrateful to the epic hero of Indian freedom !

II

An Appeal To Boris Yeltsin

Mr. Boris Yeltsin
Hon'ble President
Federation of Russia
Moscow, Russia

Honourable Sir,

After the great non-violent democratic revolution in the former Soviet Union under your leadership, Indian people are watching the democratic developments in the Russian Federation and its sister States with deep interest. What has happened in the former USSR is a seismic event that has shaken the existing co-relations of the present politics of the modern world, opening a new vista of peace, amity and human rights before the whole humanity.

Indian relation with Russia had always been friendly, cordial and mutually trustworthy. Indian freedom movement received sustained support from Russia. Our greatest national revolutionary, Subhas Chandra Bose, who was twice elected as the President of the Indian National Congress, showed consistent interest in cultivating Russian friendship for the cause of Indian freedom.

After his historic escape from the British India in January 1941, he intended to reach Moscow via Kabul. But, because of the policy of Stalin at that time, Subhas Chandra Bose was compelled by the prevailing circumstances to divert his destination to Germany via Moscow to seek help of the "enemy's enemy" for ousting British Imperialism from India. He had to seek help of the Axis Power, though he was opposed to their ideology, for exploiting international enmity between Britain and Germany and also because of the fact that due to the Russo-German Pact, existing at that time, Germany was looked upon by him as an ally of Russia.

After the treacherous attack of Russia by Nazi Army in June 1941, the dream of Subhas Chandra Bose to achieve Indian independence with the collaborative help of Russia and Germany was shattered. Sitting at the very den of Hitler, Subhas Bose, the intrepid Indian Revolutionary, dared to write to Hitler's Foreign Minister Mr. Ribbentrop that "the Indian people

will view 'German attack' of Russia as an 'imperialist aggression.' Though Subhas Chandra Bose formed as Indian Legion in Germany, he never uttered a word in support of Nazi aggression of Russia, nor did he allow the Indian Legion to be used in anyway against the interest of Russia.

Being frustrated in Germany, Subhas Chandra Bose undertook an unthinkable hazard of 90 days Submarine journey from Kiel to Singapore. He created a saga of Revolutionary War of Indian Liberation against British Imperialism, the fiery impact of which ultimately compelled the British power to quit its Indian Empire after the War.

While waging 'War of Independence' against British Imperialism with the help of Japan, Subhas Chandra Bose never uttered a single word, nor did he do anything adversely against Russia or China. Rather, he always tried to maintain an attitude of friendship towards these two countries. His joining hands with Germany and Japan was motivated solely for winning Indian national independence.

When it became clear after fall of Germany that collapse of Japan was a matter of days, Subhas Chandra Bose contacted Mr. Jakob Malik, the then Russian Ambassador in Tokyo, for seeking asylum in Russia. After surrender of Japan on August 15, 1945, Tokyo Radio made a dubious broadcast on 23rd August circulating a story that Subhas Chandra Bose, the supreme leader of the Provisional Govt. of Free India, died in an aircrash at Taihoku (Taipei). But the report of Bose's death was not confirmed officially either by Japan or the U.K. nor also by the USA. Genl. Mac Arthur of the US Pacific Army and Adml. Mounbatten of the S.E.Asia Allied Command immediately ordered two separate inquiries to probe into the story of Subhas Chandra Bose's death. But their inquiries couldn't find any positive evidence to confirm Bose's death.

Subhas Chandra Bose made his flight from Saigon on Aug 17, 1945. His destination was Russia, via Dairen. According to the Mac Arthur's Inquiry Japan made a false broadcast on Aug 23, 1945 to comouflage Subhas Chandra Bose's escape into Russian Siberia via Dairen.

During the days of 1945-46 British Intelligence made many reports to the Viceroy of British India, that Subhas Chandra Bose under the cover of the story of his aircrash death had actually reached Russia. This report was corroborated by the Russian Ambassador in Kabul, and the Russian Consul General at Tehean in 1946. It was told by them that Bose was living in Russia with an assumed Mongolian name of 'Ghilzai Malang'.

The Govt. of India instituted two inquiries to verify if the report of Bose's aircrash death was true. But these two inquiries failed to confirm Bose's death. All the high officers of Subhas Chandra Bose's Revolutionary Army (INA) and the Ministers of his Provisional Govt. of Free India and all the high ranking Jap Generals and Jap diplomats, who appeared before the two Indian inquiries, categorically stated that Bose's plan after fall of Japan was to go to Russia.

Dr. S.Radhakrishnan, who was the second Indian Ambassador to Moscow told his personal friend, Dr. Saroj Das of the University of Calcutta that he got the information that Subhas Chandra Bose was held in captivity in Soviet Russia by Stalin.

In 1975 the British Govt. published secret documents concerning 'Transfer of Power' to India. In it a specially important note, after analysing the pros and cons of various measures

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how to punish Subhas Chandra Bose if he was arrested, recommended to the British Govt. in late 1945 that :

“...In many ways the easiest course would be to leave him where he is and not to ask for his release. He might, of Course, in certain circumstances be welcomed by the Russians. This course would raise fewest immediate political difficulties.”

This note provides an authentic information that Bose took asylum in Russia after fall of Japan.

Another fact revealed is more startling. An Indian Engineer of Calcutta, Mr. A.Sarkar, who was deputed by the Govt. of India to have training in machine building plant in Russia, was three times in Russia and knew Russian well. Mr. Sarkar worked in the Machine Building Plant at Gorlovskaya near the city of Doniesk. He came in contact of a German - Jew there, who was the Deputy Chief of the Plant - Machinostroitel'nyy Zavod. His name was B.A.Zerobin, who was earlier a war machine designer in Nazi Germany. He claimed that he met the Indian Revolutionary Subhas Chandra Bose several times in Berlin.

Zerobin after being captured in Berlin, was taken to Siberia in a train to an unknown place, from where he was flown to a Re-orientation Camp somewhere in Siberia. In that Camp one day he suddenly found Subhas Chandra Bose coming out of a Car, flanked by two Mongolian guards. Seeing Bose, Zerobin excitedly rushed towards him and said : 'Sir, I have met you in Berlin'. Bose replied in his characteristic style : 'Quite likely'. Bose then asked Zerobin : 'What are you doing here?' Replied Zerobin : 'I don't know what for.' Zerobin again asked Bose: 'What is your programme, Sir ? Are you going back to India' ? Bose : 'I expect it to be soon.'

While Bose and Zerobin were talking in German, (Bose knew German well) the Mongolian guards intervened : 'Not allowed'.

Thereafter, Zerobin had no opportunity to meet Bose in the Siberian Re-orientation Camp.

Zerobin warned Mr. A.K.Sarkar that if he disclosed the report of his meeting with Subhas Chandra Bose in the Re-orientation Camp in Siberia, the lives of both Zerobin and Sarkar will be seriously endangered in Russia. After retiring from the Govt. job, Shri Sarkar took courage to disclose the report about Bose and that too many years later.

Prof. Samar Guha, a former member of the Indian Parliament and three-term Chairman of its Privilege Committee, — the highest Judicial body of the Indian Parliament, wrote a long letter to Mr. Gorbachev requesting him to disclose all facts about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's taking asylum in Russia after fall of Japan. This letter was separately forwarded to Mr. Gorbachev by the two former Presidents of India, Mr. N.Sanjiva Reddy and Mr. Gyani Zail Singh. A third letter was forwarded by the oldest President of Indian National Congress, Mr. S.Nijalingappa. Unfortunately, Mr. Gorbachev remained unresponsive.

A very important letter has been found out in 1991 in the archives of the US Princeton University, which confirmed the British report that Mahatma Gandhi knew that Subhas Chandra Bose was in Russia in 1946. This letter was written by Khurshed Behn, a very trusted disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, to the US journalist Louis Fischer, who worked as go-between Gandhi

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and the US President. This letter was written on 22nd July, 1946. In it was written by Khurshed Behn, inter alia :

“.... At heart the Indian Army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army (of Subhas Bose), if Bose comes with the help of Russia, neither Gandhiji, nor the Congress will be able to reason with the country”

Dear President Yeltsin ! We hope that you know how the Indian people hold Subhas Chandra Bose in their highest esteem as the greatest revolutionary of their national liberation. It was the saga of heroic exploits of the War of Indian Independence waged by Bose against the British Power that created such a tremendous anti-British upsurge in India after the Great War that it ultimately compelled the Britishers to withdraw from their Indian Empire. Mahatma Gandhi is hailed in India as the 'Father of the Nation' and in the same way Subhas Chandra Bose is acclaimed as 'The Netaji', – the supreme liberator of the Indian people.

It is not yet known what really happened to Subhas Chandra Bose in Stalin's Russia. Many Indian Communist and Nationalist Revolutionaries were killed by Stalin. How Stalin treated Subhas Chandra Bose, the whole episode remained unrevealed.

Dear Mr. Yeltsin ! You have earned international admiration as the Liberator of the Russia people and a new harbinger of the message of peace, freedom and democracy for the humanity of our age. We beseech you to let the Indian people know what really happened to their beloved leader, their National Liberator, Subhas Chandra Bose, who sought asylum in Stalin's Russia after fall of Japan. Your Govt. is now disclosing all secret KGB files, Stalin's confidential archives and other hitherto unknown secret reports of Stalin's days. You have gracefully rehabilitated many eminent Russians and have given promise to the US people to find out if any US soldiers are left anywhere in the Russian territory.

India and Russia are two great friendly countries. The people of these two countries had never any conflict between them. If you reveal all facts about Subhas Chandra Bose, the greatest hero of Indian liberation, who sought asylum in Stalin's Russia, you will win the hearts of the millions of the people of our country. The Indian people are pinning for years to know what ultimately happened to their beloved leader, Subhas Chandra Bose, the Promethean Hero of their nation, after he took political asylum in Stalin's Russia.

We beseech you again President Yeltsin to let the Indian people know all facts about Subhas Chandra Bose after he sought political asylum in Stalin's Soviet Russia !

May God bless you, bless the Russian people ! May God be in your heart to impel you to reveal all truths about the most beloved leader of the Indian people, Subhas Chandra Bose, since he reached Russia after fall of Japan.

With warmest greetings and regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

SAMAR GUHA



PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi
March 25, 1993

Dear Rashtrapatiji,

I have your letter of 22nd March, 1993,
forwarding a letter received by you from some
distinguished citizens of Calcutta.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

P. V. Narasimha Rao
(P.V. Narasimha Rao)

Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma
President of India
Rashtrapati Bhawan
New Delhi.

No. 870/11/P/10/23-Pol

Dt. 08.04.93

Copy along with a copy of letter forwarded
for appropriate action to Home Secretary, New Delhi.

Prabhat
(Prabhat C. Chaturvedi)
Director



विदेश मंत्री

भारत

MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
INDIA

May 25, 1993

My dear Samir Babu,

I am writing in continuation of my letter of March 29, 1993 regarding Netaji. I have also seen the letter dated December 15, 1992 sent to you by Shri J.N. Dixit, Foreign Secretary on this matter.

As you are aware, we had taken up this matter with the Russian Foreign Ministry in 1990-91. They had sent us some material, most of which had dealt primarily with Netaji's trip from Kabul to the USSR and then to Berlin in 1941. The material also indicated that the Russians themselves accept that Netaji died in the plane crash in 1945. Subsequently, the Russians sent us a note verbale dated January 8, 1992 which stated, inter alia, that "as per the data available in the Central and Republican Archives, there is no information about the stay of the former President of the Indian National Congress, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, in the Soviet Union in 1945 and after that". The Russian Foreign Office was approached once again to ascertain if there was any further information they could provide. However, the reaction of the officials concerned was not encouraging and I must therefore tell you of our feeling that we should not expect very much more information from them.

I entirely agree with you that we should celebrate the birth centenary of Netaji in 1997 in a fitting manner. I am sure it would please the countless followers and admirers of Netaji's if we could somehow bring an end to this controversy before that so that the celebrations of 1997 can take place unitedly in memory of this great national hero whose example provides such an inspiration to all of us. You might like to discuss the matter with the Prime Minister at a suitable opportunity.

In the meantime, I am enclosing a book on Netaji published recently in Kuala Lumpur by the Netaji Centre. This contains perhaps the last set of personal reminiscences from individuals who were directly involved in the activities of the Azad Hind Fauj. The

article by M. Gandhinathan, particularly in pages 34-36, contain, inter alia, some graphic details of the final moments of Netaji's plane crash as narrated by Col. Habibur Rehman. I would be interested in your comments on the book.

Best wishes

Yours sincerely,

Dinul Singh

Prof. Samar Guha,
Former Member of Parliament,
8/2, Central Park,
CALCUTTA 700032



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विदेश मंत्री
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Yours sincerely,

Dinul Singh

Prof. Samar Guha,
Former Member of Parliament,
8/2, Central Park,
CALCUTTA 700032

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MOST IMMEDIATE

No.4/23/93-FF(P)
Government of India
Ministry of Home Affairs

6681/15/93
17/6

16 JUN 1993

....
New Delhi, dated the

1993

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Subject: Resolutions passed by the National Council of the All India Freedom Fighters' Organisation held at Indore on 20th and 21st March, 1993 regarding various issues relating to freedom fighters.

Pay pl. see.
Ans 25/6.
J. AP
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So/10/2

The undersigned is directed to say that the National Council of All India Freedom Fighters' Organisation in its meeting held at Indore(M.P.) on 20th and 21st March, 1993 have passed many Resolutions which are the concern of different Ministries. A copy of the letter dated 25th March, 1993 from the Working President of All India Freedom Fighters' Organisation addressed to the Prime Minister alongwith a copy of the Resolutions adopted at the meeting is sent herewith.

2. It would be seen that the Resolution No. 3.B relating to bringing of ashes of Netaji Bose from Japan to India with full state honours

Netaji Bose
24/7/94

is the concern of the Ministry of External Affairs. It is requested that this/these Resolution(s) passed by the National Council of All India Freedom Fighters' Organisation may be examined in the Ministry and comments may be sent to this Ministry so that a consolidated note could be submitted for the kind information of Hon'ble Prime Minister.

Sh. P-

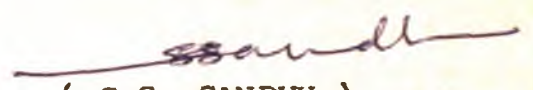
3. It may also be mentioned that this Ministry has recently replied a Parliament Question No. 8432-LSUSQ on 13.5.93 on the subject, a copy of which is also enclosed. It is likely that a similar Question may be raised in the next Session of the Parliament and as

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-: 2 :-

such comments of the Ministry of External Affairs
on the above mentioned Resolution(s) may be sent to this
Ministry by 30th June, 1993.



(G.S. SANDHU)
Joint Secretary to the Govt. of India

To

Shri J.N.Dixit,
~~Foreign Secretary~~,
Ministry of External Affairs, South Block,
New Delhi.

अखिल भारतीय स्वतंत्रता सेनानी संगठन

All India Freedom Fighters' Organisation

H. O. : 7, JANTAR MANTAR ROAD, NEW DELHI-110001

Research Centre:

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9/1, Institutional Area, Opp. JNU
NEW DELHI-110067

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S.K. Sinha, Bihar
Ratan Lal Joshi, Bombay
Gyani Harnam Shah Singh, Delhi
Smt. Som Kumari Sabharwal, Delhi

March 25, 1973

Dear Shri Narasimha Rao ji,

Greeting

I am enclosing a copy of five Resolutions unanimously passed at the National Council Meeting of the All India Freedom Fighters Organisation held at Indore (Madhya Pradesh) on 20th & 21st March, 1973.

The meeting was attended by 500 members of the National Council in addition to observers, special invitees and guests. Shri F.M. Sayeed, Minister of State for Home Affairs inaugurated the meeting. The concluding session was addressed by Shri Shyama Charan Shukla.

Members of Parliament, Legislators and distinguished freedom fighters took part in the deliberations. 69 speakers addressed the meeting.

We request you to kindly consider these resolutions for necessary action.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Steel Bhadra Yajee
(SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE)
Working President

Encl: as stated above

Shri F.V. Narasimha Rao
Prime Minister of India
NEW DELHI

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ALL INDIA FREEDOM FIGHTERS' ORGANISATION

7-Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi 110 001

At the meeting of the National Council of the All India Freedom Fighters' Organisation held at Indore on March 20 and 21, 1993, the following Resolutions were discussed and passed. Shri Sheel Bhadra Yajee, Working Chairman presided.

RESOLUTION NO.1

HOMAGE

This National Council meeting of the All India Freedom Fighters' Organisation held at Indore pays its respectful homage and tribute to all those great sons and daughters of Mother India who sacrificed their lives for the freedom of our country and became immortals in the annals of the history of freedom movement of the entire Indian sub-continent.

In this Golden Jubilee Year of the historic Quit India Movement and the founding of the Azad Hind Provisional Government by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, we remember with a sense of gratitude and national pride their dauntless courage and conviction for freedom, secularism and national unity.

We, the freedom fighters, reiterate our pledge to preserve their glorious traditions and ideals for realising the goal of socialism enshrined in the Constitution of India.

RESOLUTION NO.2

POLITICAL

A. ON PUNJAB SITUATION:

This meeting of the National Council of the All India Freedom Fighters' Organisation held at Indore expresses its sense of relief over restoration of normalcy in the state of Punjab after a long period of unabated acts of terrorism which caused not only loss of lives of innocent men, women and children but also impeded economic development of the state. We warmly congratulate Sardar Beant Singh, Chief Minister and the state authorities for taking bold and daring steps to root out terrorism from the border state. We call upon the people of Punjab who suffered wrath of terrorist violence to remain vigilant and not to allow revulsion of tragic events in future at any cost.

Over the years, 2,500 families migrated to places outside Punjab who would like to return to their homes and we hope that the state government would take appropriate steps for their early rehabilitation. Similarly, steps should also be taken in consultation with the Central Government for the rehabilitation of the widows and orphans who suffered in terrorist violence. We feel that it is necessary for the state government to confiscate all those properties which were acquired or built with the money extracted by the terrorists through acts of kidnapping and coercion so that they don't draw any premium over their acts of terrorism.

It is a known fact that when fundamentalist political parties brought religion, religious leaders, Sadhus and saints into politics, fundamentalism gained strength and terrorism became rampant. In the state of Punjab when Akalis

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brought Saints into politics in the name of Kar Sewa, terrorism became so powerful that even Akalis had to submit to the dictates of terrorists and fundamentalists. Similarly, when the RSS and Sangh Pariwar brought Sadhus and Saints in the forefront in the name of Kar Sewa at Ayodhya, religious fanaticism and fundamentalism took the upper hand and whole country was engulfed in communal violence in which thousands of innocent people were killed, property worth crores and crores of rupees was destroyed, big and small industries and trade suffered in a chain of communal events. In the same manner, when Muslim religion became subordinate to mosques and the 'Fatwas of the Maulvis', Muslim fundamentalism again raised the cry of "Two Nations Theory". The wave of terrorism spread from Kashmir to Bombay. The fundamentalist organisations like the Jamait-e-Islami confused the thinking of Muslims in India in the same way as fundamentalists in Pakistan had done. This also encouraged the growth of terrorism.

Now when terrorism is facing total liquidation in Punjab, the leaders of the Janata Dal are aligning with the Akalis which would obviously encourage Gurudwara-dominated politics in Punjab. They are committing an Himalayan blunder in the same way as the leader of Total Revolution committed when he sought the help of RSS i.e. Sangh Pariwar though ultimately this support proved to be a great menace. We earnestly hope that history of political opportunism will not be repeated with the help of Akalis and men like Syed Shahabuddin who are known for their double-faced politics.

We call upon all secular democratic progressive people to unit in this historic task so that religion and religious places could not be used for political ends.

B. ON SITUATION IN ASSAM:

This National Council meeting of the All India Freedom Fighters' Organisation congratulates the Union Home Minister Shri S.B. Chavan, the Chief Minister of Assam Shri Hitendra Saikia, for solving the Bodo problem. We earnestly hope that the Government will be able to put an end to ULFA insurgency with an iron hand.

C. ON THE ROLE OF FUNDAMENTALISTS:

This meeting of the National Council of the All India Freedom Fighters' Organisation strongly condemns the role of fundamentalists and communal forces, aided and abetted by some international powers and agencies, with the sinister design to destabilise India and its economy.

The recent horrentous tragedy in Bombay is a warning about twin danger from fundamentalists inside the country and from international agencies from outside.

We call upon all secular and progressive people to unite in action to fight this menace. We appeal to the freedom fighters all over India to organise JALIANWALA BAGH WEEK from April 7 to 13, 1997 to reiterate their solemn resolve to preserve national unity and freedom of India for which the martyrs of Jalianwal Bagh massacre laid down their lives.

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ON CURBING ROLE OF RELIGION IN POLITICS:

This meeting of the National Council of the All India Freedom Fighters' Organisation views with grave concern the nefarious role of fundamentalist forces in mixing religion with politics and using religious places like mosques, temples and gurudwaras for political purposes.

Over the years, communal passions have been aroused and crores of rupees have been collected in India and abroad and the same have been unaccounted for and misused.

We welcome bold declaration of Prime Minister Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao that the Government would see that religion was not used in electoral process and foolproof and inviolable secular democracy, as enshrined in the Constitution of India, is preserved.

We are convinced that it is the first concern of secular democratic progressive people, rising above party considerations, to ensure survival of national and secular credentials of India. We appreciate that the Parliament is considering constitutional provisions to put an end to use of religion in electoral process.

E. PUBLICATION OF WHITE PAPER ON R.S.S. AND SANGH PARIWAR:

After the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, the R.S.S. was banned and its members arrested. The then R.S.S. Chief, Shri M.S. Golwalkar gave an assurance to the then Home Minister Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel that R.S.S. would function only as a cultural organisation. We have seen how this undertaking was violated when the R.S.S. set up a political party with the name of Bhartiya Jan Sangh and also established frontal organisations like the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Bajrang Dal etc. and finally formed of the Bhartiya Janata Party. The RSS and its Sangh Pariwar have been outright political, pursuing their objectives to gain political power with the help of large sums of money collected in the name of 'Guru Dakshina' and collection made in the name of Shila Poojan, Ram Padukas, Ram Patakas and Ram Gulal etc. which have remained unaccounted.

We urge upon the Central Government to publish a WHITE PAPER on RSS and Sangh Pariwar beginning from the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi to the tragic happenings at Ayodhya on December 6, 1992.

F. APPOINTMENT OF RECEIVER FOR SRI KRISHNA JANMABHOOMI TEMPLE

Sri Krishna Janmabhoomi temple in Mathura is being controlled by the so-called Managing Committee dominated by the activists of the RSS and its frontal organisations known as Sangh Pariwar, i.e. Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Bajrang Dal and BJP etc. The offerings made in cash and kind by lakhs of devotees every year to the temple are being used for promoting objects of the Sangh Pariwar to arouse communal passions for their political ends.

We, the freedom fighters, appeal to the Government to immediately appoint a Receiver for Sri Krishna Janmabhoomi temple at Mathura and a Trust be constituted for its proper management.

Ar. Patel

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RESOLUTION NO.3

HONOURING HEROES OF FREEDOM MOVEMENT

A. INSTALLING STATUTE OF KHAN ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN:

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, popularly known as the Frontier Gandhi, was a legendary figure of the freedom movement in the entire sub-continent. He led the freedom struggle in the NWFP in which thousands of Pathans took active part. The Frontier Gandhi remained an embodiment of peace, goodwill and universal brotherhood. When he visited India for the first time after independence in the year 1969, he undertook a fast for three days for communal harmony at 5, Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road in New Delhi.

While we thank the Delhi Administration for accepting the proposal to name the road from Mehrauli to Indira Gandhi International Airport as 'Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan Marg', we urge upon the Government to instal a statue of the Frontier Gandhi at the crossing of Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road at New Delhi as a tribute to this veteran freedom fighter and a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi.

B. BRINGING ASHES OF NETAJI SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE FROM JAPAN:

Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, the Supreme Commander of the Indian National Army and President of the Azad Hind Provisional Government dedicated his life in the cause of freedom of India and led a valiant struggle against British imperialism.

Since it is the Golden Jubilee Year of the Founding of the Azad Hind Provisional Government, this National Council meeting of the All India Freedom Fighters' Organisation urges upon the Central Government to make arrangements for bringing the sacred ashes of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Japan to India with full state honours so that millions of people of India could pay their homage to the valiant hero of our freedom struggle.

We also urge upon the Central Government to establish Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose Academy for National Integration where training in national integration to senior administrative officers could be imparted.

RESOLUTION NO.4

ECONOMIC

This meeting of the National Council of the All India Freedom Fighters' Organisation held at Indore is conscious of the fact the even after 45 years of independence, people are still facing the problem of unemployment, poverty and steep rise in prices due to paucity of adequate resources and concentration of wealth in few hands. We are convinced that the social requirements of the common people for health, education and housing need urgent consideration.

Although periodic efforts have been made to gear up Indian economic system yet the poor, the downtrodden and the have-nots continue to face the ire of economic inequalities and exploitation. Corruption is adding to frustration and resentment among the common people. When we were fighting for

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the freedom of our country, we had a clear vision of a free India which will evolve a policy of regeneration of its economy in order to meet the growing needs of the vast multitude of people of our country. The emphasis was on linking up political freedom with modernisation of Indian economy on scientific lines.

In post-independent India, this vision has been shattered. Yet there is no cause for dismay because all parties, big or small, owing their allegiance to the Constitution of India, have accepted socialism as the ultimate goal and there can be no going away from it. We do not agree with those who challenge the concept of socialism by citing example of disintegration of the socialist world. For us, socialism is our cherished goal and it is to be established by consensus. The broad consensus of our country favours the evolving of an economic system committed to the welfare of its people.

We hope that efforts will be made to make Indian economy self-sufficient, viable and strong, not depending on the will of the multinationals. We also wish that India be declared as Socialist Republic of India.

RESOLUTION NO.5

ON FREEDOM MOVEMENT

A. PREPARATION OF NATIONAL REGISTER OF MARTYRS:

This meeting of the National Council of the All India Freedom Fighters' Organisation held at Indore firmly believes that in order to perpetuate the memory of all the martyrs who sacrificed their lives in the Quit India Movement, a National Register of Martyrs should be prepared so that future generations could feel inspired to preserve the spirit of sacrifice in defence of the freedom of our country.

We also consider it a historic necessity that a National Museum of the Freedom struggle beginning from the Battle of Plassey to the last struggle of Quit India Movement and the INA be established in the Red Fort at Delhi at the earliest which should include Martyrs Picture Gallery depicting the entire history of our freedom movement.

We also urge upon the Central Government to set up a suitable Martyrs Memorial Column in New Delhi which could serve as the place of pilgrimage where the people of India and the visiting foreign dignitaries could pay their homage to all those who sacrificed their lives for the freedom of India.

B. EARLY DISPOSAL OF SAMMAN PENSION CASES:

This meeting of the National Council of the All India Freedom Fighters' Organisation held at Indore requests the Prime Minister of India for early disposal of all the pending cases of Samman Pension to the freedom fighters before the conclusion of the Golden Jubilee Year of the Quit India Movement, and if need be, to set up a Special Committee in this regard.

for file

§ 13 मई, 1993 को उत्तर के लिये §

अखिल भारतीय स्वतंत्रता सेनानी संघ की राष्ट्रीय परिषद की बैठकें

8432. श्री भोगेन्द्र झा :

क्या गृह मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

§क§ क्या अखिल भारतीय स्वतंत्रता सेनानी संघ की राष्ट्रीय परिषद की बैठकें 20 और 21 मार्च, 1993 को इन्दौर में आयोजित की गई थी :

§ख§ यदि हां, तो उन बैठकों में पारित संकल्पों का ब्यौरा क्या है : और

§ग§ उन पर सरकार की क्या प्रतिक्रिया है 9

उत्तर-

गृह मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री § श्री राजेश पायलट §

§क§ जी हां, श्रीमान् ।

§ख§ सम्मेलन में पारित किए गए महत्वपूर्ण संकल्पों में शामिल हैं :

i § भारत के संविधान में प्रतिष्ठित समाजवाद के लक्ष्य को प्राप्त करने के लिए गौरवशाली परम्पराओं एवं आदर्शों को सुरक्षित रखने की प्रतीक्षा दोहराना :

ii § सभी पंथ-निरपेक्ष प्रजातांत्रिक प्रगतिशील व्यक्तियों को संगठित होने का आह्वान करना जिससे कि धर्म एवं धार्मिक स्थलों का प्रयोग राजनैतिक उद्देश्यों की पूर्ति के लिए न किया जाए :

iii § उल्लान-विद्रोह को कड़ाई से दबा दिए जाने के लिए सरकार से अनुरोध करना :

iv § कटटरवादिता की बुराई से मुकाबला करने के लिए सभी पंथ-निरपेक्ष और प्रगतिशील लोगों को एक-जुट होकर कार्य करने के लिए आहूत करना :

---जारी---

- १११ § चुनाव-प्रक्रिया में धर्म के प्रयोग को समाप्त करने के उद्देश्य से
संवैधानिक प्रावधान पर विचार करने के लिए संसद की सलाहना
करना :
- ११२ § मथुरा स्थित श्री कृष्ण जन्म-भूमि मंदिर के लिए एक रिसीवर की
नियुक्ति तथा इसके समुचित प्रबन्ध के लिए एक न्यास के गठन
के लिए सरकार से अपील करना :
- ११३ § इस पुराने स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सेनानी और महात्मा गांधी के निकट
सहयोगी को श्रद्धांजलि के रूप में नई दिल्ली में डा. राजेन्द्र प्रसाद
रोड क्रासिंग पर सीमान्त गांधी की प्रतिमा स्थापित करने के लिए
सरकार से अनुरोध करना :
- ११४ § नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की पवित्र अस्थियों को पूरे राजकीय सम्मान
के साथ जापान से भारत लाने के लिए प्रबन्ध करने तथा वरिष्ठ
प्रशासकों के प्रशिक्षण के लिए "सुभाष चन्द्र बोस राष्ट्रीय एकता अकादमी"
की स्थापना के लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार से अनुरोध करना :
- ११५ § शहीदों का एक राष्ट्रीय रजिस्टर तैयार करने, स्वाधीनता संघर्ष का
एक राष्ट्रीय म्यूजियम स्थापित करने और नई दिल्ली में एक
उचित शहीद स्मारक स्तम्भ स्थापित करना : और
- ११६ § सम्मान पेंशन मामलों का शीघ्र निपटान ।
- ११७ § सम्मेलन में की गई अधिकांश सिफारिशों से सरकार पहले ही अवगत
है और उचित कार्रवाई की है / कर रही है । सीमान्त गांधी की प्रतिमा
स्थापित करने, जापान से सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की अस्थियां लाने, नेताजी के नाम
पर राष्ट्रीय एकता के लिए एक अकादमी स्थापित करने और शहीद स्मारक
स्तम्भ की स्थापना करने जैसी सिफारिशों की जांच में पर्याप्त समय लगेगा
और इन सिफारिशों पर सरकार द्वारा प्रतिक्रिया करना जल्दबाजी होगी ।
जहां तक सम्मान पेंशन के मामलों को निपटाए जाने का प्रश्न है, सरकार समय
से प्राप्त सभी दावों पर कम से कम एक बार विचार कर चुकी है और
लिए गए निर्णयों से आवेदकों को पहले ही अवगत करा चुकी है । दावों की
अस्वीकृति के खिलाफ याचिकाओं/अभ्यावेदनों की प्राप्ति एवं उनका निपटान
एक सतत प्रक्रिया है और ऐसी याचिकाओं के गुणों के आधार पर उन पर पहले
ही विचार किया जा रहा है ।

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LOK SABHA

UNSTARRED QUESTION NO. 3771

(TO BE ANSWERED ON THE 13TH MAY, 1993)

MEETING OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF ALL INDIA FREEDOM
FIGHTERS' ASSOCIATION

8432. SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA:

Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS गृह मंत्री
be pleased to state :

- (a) whether a meeting of the National Council of All India Freedom Fighters' Association was held on 20th and 21st March, 1993 at Indore ;
- (b) if so, the details of the Resolutions passed in the meeting; and
- (c) the reaction of the Government thereto

A N S W E R

गृह मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री राजेश पायलट)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS:
(SHRI RAJESH PILOT)

- (a): Yes, Sir.
- (b): The important resolutions passed in the Conference include:
 - (i) reiteration of the pledge to preserve the glorious traditions and ideals for realising the goal of socialism enshrined in the Constitution of India ;
 - (ii) Calling upon all secular democratic progressive people to unite so that religion and religious places are not used for political ends ;
 - (iii) request to the Government to put an end to ULFA insurgency with an iron hand ;
 - (iv) calling upon all secular and progressive people to unite in action to fight the menace of fundamentalism ;
 - (v) appreciation of the Parliament considering Constitutional Provisions to put an end to use of religion in electoral process.

- (vi) appeal to the Government for appointment of a Receiver for Shri Krishna Janmabhoomi temple at Mathura and constitution of a Trust for its proper management ;
- (vii) urging upon the Government to instal a statue of the Frontier Gandhi at the crossing of Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road at New Delhi as a tribute to this veteran freedom fighter and a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi ;
- (viii) urging upon the Central Government to make arrangements for bringing the sacred ashes of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Japan to India with full state honours and establishment of the Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose Academy for National Integration for training of senior administrators ;
- (ix) preparation of a National Register of Martyrs, establishment of a National Museum of freedom struggle and setting up of suitable Martyrs Memorial Column in New Delhi ; and
- (x) early disposal of Samman Pension cases.

(c): The Government is already seized of most of the suggestions made in the Conference and has taken/is taking appropriate action. Examination of suggestions like installation of the statue of Frontier Gandhi, bringing the ashes of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose from Japan, setting up of an Academy for National Integration after the name of Netaji and establishment of Martyrs Memorial Column require sufficient time and it would be too early for the Government to react on such suggestions. As regards disposal of cases of Samman Pension, Government has already considered all the timely claims at least once and decisions communicated to the applicants. Receipt and disposal of review petitions/representations against rejection of claims is a continuous process and such petitions are already being considered on merit.



M. VENKATESWARA IYER

संयुक्त सचिव
JOINT SECRETARY

Phone: 3015785

D.O.No.5293/JS(A)/93

MOST IMMEDIATE/BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

COURT CASE

भारत सरकार

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

गृह मंत्रालय

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

नार्थ ब्लॉक, नई दिल्ली-११०००१

NORTH BLOCK, NEW DELHI-110001

September 27, 1993.

Dear Shri Vijay Kumar,

I enclose a copy of the judgement dated 4 March, 1987, delivered by Hon'ble Justice Mr. S.N. Bhargava of the High Court of Judicature, Rajasthan. As you will see, this judgement relates to the inquiry into the circumstances in which Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose died. The first inquiry in this matter was ordered by the Ministry of External Affairs who set up the Netaji Inquiry Committee under the chairmanship of Shah Nawaz Khan.

2. The aforesaid judgement has been relied upon in a writ petition filed in the Calcutta High Court by one Shri Bijan Ghosh and certain others who have joined him as added respondents.

3. According to the judgement of the High Court of Rajasthan, the Ministry of External Affairs were required to look into the matter once again and examine all the available evidence including all the papers and other materials which the petitioner had claimed that he had at his disposal. The concluding part of the judgement may please be seen in this regard.

4. As we have to give para-wise comments in respect of the writ petition pending in the High Court at Calcutta, we are interested in knowing immediately what action was taken by the Ministry of External Affairs in pursuance of the judgement of the High Court of Rajasthan.

5. We shall be grateful if you will consider the matter and send us a reply immediately. If you are not dealing with this matter, kindly pass it on to the concerned Joint Secretary with the request to send me a reply urgently. Also, kindly let me know who is the officer concerned so that I can be in touch with him.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

JS. (M)'S OFFICE

By No. 3972/93

Date 28/10

Shri Vijay Kumar,
Joint Secretary (Coord),
Ministry of External Affairs,
New Delhi.

(M. Venkateswara Iyer)

3972/OS(S)/93
11-10-93.

Handwritten signature

File need to be sent to the Govt. of India. The file was marked back to Director (AP) earlier today. 7/10

he requires the file which is sent NGO to send a reply which will satisfy the Court's demands. The file is sent PMO. Could this be returned to him for one day?

The file was marked back to Director (AP) earlier today. 7/10

9397/PO4/93

JS(M)/PMO

7/10

Director (AP) MEA

3681/JS(A)/93
11/10/93

We spoke 16/28/9

File sent for SCAP. We have for the delivery 28/9

JS (AP) Pl. P. on file on 11/10/93

Netaji's file

633/81/15-13211
5/3

52 — —

34 11-11-1 R

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE FOR RAJASTHAN AT
JAIPUR BENCH JAIPUR.

LEDER

Nand Lal Sharma Vs. Chief Secretary, State of
Rajasthan and another.

S.P. CIVIL WRIT PETITION No. 992/1984

Under Article 226 and 51 of the Constitution
of India.

DATE OF LEADER ::: JANUARY 18, 1986

PRESENT

HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE S.N. BHARGAVA

Shri Nand Lal Sharma, petitioner in person

Shri H.L. Farooq, Addl G.A.

Shri P.L. Gupta, standing Counsel for
Union of India.

BY THE COURT:

This is Writ petition filed by Shri Nand
Lal Sharma on a very important national issue asking
this court to order for starting an open judicial
enquiry on international level to know about the
whereabouts of Koteji Subhash Chandra Bose, a national
hero, and further to order to set him free, if he is
still confined as a war criminal in any country.
The petition was filed on 26.3.84. Along with the
writ petition, an application was also filed that
this case should be put up before a full bench for
admission. When the case came up before Hon'ble
the Chief Justice, he was pleased to order that the
case may be put up for admission before me. The
petitioner also filed an application giving the
details of documents which he wanted to be

-2-

summoned from the non petitioner No.2, Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, Union of India and he also filed some additional documents on 27th August, 1984. Notices to show cause were issued to the why the writ petition should not be admitted and notices of the said two applications were also sent to the nonpetitioners. On 15th March, 1985, Shri B.P. Gupta, Standing Counsel for the Union of India was called for and was directed to file reply of the writ petition within one month. Time was again sought by Shri Gupta on 8.5.85 and the case was fixed for 8th July, 1985. Thereafter, it was adjourned for Jaipur and the case was not listed before any other bench inspite of applications for early hearing filed by the petitioner. The case came up before me on 18th October, 1985, till then, no reply was filed by either the State of Rajasthan or the Union of India. Shri B.P. Gupta, learned that Standing Counsel for the U.O.G. submitted that he has received no instructions, though he had intimated the Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs. The case was ordered to be put up on 4.11.85 and the non petitioners were permitted to file reply before that date. Again on 19.11.1985, Shri Gupta submitted that he has received no instructions till then, inspite of written communication. Learned Deputy Government Advocate submitted that he has received instructions not to conduct the writ petition on behalf of the State of Rajasthan. The petitioner wanted time to

-3-

file some additional affidavit and some interrogatories. The petitioner filed some more documents and also produced two printed books (1) NETAJI AZAD HIND FAUJ AND AFTER, BY R.M. KASLIWAL AND (2) AN INDIAN FREEDOM FIGHTER IN JAPAN, MEMOIRS OF A.M. HSIR. The case was taken up finally for arguments on 4.12.65. Shri R.P. Gupta still submitted that he had received no instructions and the Additional Government Advocate also reiterated that he had no instructions in the said matter. Hence, the petitioner was heard ex-parte in person and order was reserved.

The petitioner in this writ petition has submitted that he was a close colleague of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and played an important role for his exit from the prison and escaping out of India. In his petition, the petitioner has further submitted that two Commissions, namely Shah Nawaz Khan Commission and Justice Khosla Commission, appointed earlier by the Government of India to enquire into the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, could not come to any definite conclusion for the various reasons mentioned in the writ petition and according to the petitioner, the story that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose died in a plane crash in Formosa was a fabricated one as the co-passengers who were supposed to have been travelling in that plane have lived for long periods after the reported accident and the supposed death. The story that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose flew

any for his safety, deserting his people, could not be believed. The petitioner has also referred to the fact that Netaji was confined in Neuremberg Fort (West Germany) as a war criminal and after his trial, he was to be released. In his application dated 6.6.84, he has given a long list of documents which he wanted the non petitioner No. 2 to produce so that some definite conclusion could be reached. In that ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ application, he further assured that he will be submitting list of Indian and foreign witnesses who are willing to get their statements recorded and to cooperate if fresh enquiry was ordered. He also produced some extracts of the diary of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. He has also produced a newspaper Rajasthan Patrika (English Edition), dated 18th August, 1985 containing an Article concerning Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. He also produced an affidavit of Dr. R.M. Kasliwal to the effect that whatever he had written in his book 'Netaji: Azad Hind Fauz and after' is correct and true to the best of his personal knowledge and belief and specially in preface on pages between (iii) and (iv) and in Epilogue on pages 69 to 73. Another book produced by the petitioner namely, An Indian Freedom Fighter in Japan, ~~xxxxxx~~ memoirs of S.M. Nair containing Chapter No. 28, the Disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose' from pages 272 to 284, in which the whole episode has been discussed in detail and doubts have been expressed as to whether Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose died on account of plane crash, as alleged.

-5-

considered

I have ~~studied~~ the whole matter. It cannot be denied that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was a great national hero and a great freedom fighter. He had led strong revolutionary freedom movement in India and commands great respect from the people of India. It is true that the Government of India was also concerned in this matter and appointed two commissions ^{namely Shah Nawaz Khan Commission} and Justice Kapur Commission to enquire into the whole matter regarding the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose but the people were not satisfied with the manner in which these Commissions functioned and there is a demand from the public that some other Commission should be appointed to go into the whole question afresh and it is in that direction only that the present writ petition has been filed. Notices were issued both to the State of Rajasthan and the Union of India, but it is very unfortunate that none of them have cared to file any reply to the writ petition and produce relevant material before this court to come to some definite conclusion. Either because the Union of India is indifferent to this question as the matter had already been enquired more than once or the Government of India itself is not satisfied with the ~~respective~~ reports of the two Commissions and therefore, does not want to contest the writ petition which has been filed for ordering a fresh enquiry into the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

Since no reply has been filed on behalf of the respondents and no relevant documents have been produced in the court, it is not possible to come to a definite conclusion that the two earlier commissions did not hold the enquiry properly or there were some inherent improbabilities. I do not think it proper to order a fresh enquiry without examining the whole matter which cannot be done without the assistance of the Union of India.

In the facts and circumstances, I think it proper to issue a direction to the non petitioner No. 2 to look into the matter dispassionately and hear the petitioner in person patiently and examine the documents and the evidence that he wants to produce in support of his contention, and then come to a definite conclusion. In my opinion, six months time will be sufficient for the Union of India to examine the whole matter afresh with open mind and if necessary, invite public in general to produce material whatever it want in this connection before coming to a prima facie decision as to whether fresh Commission is necessary or not. Petitioner should submit all his papers, evidence and other material before Government of India and time of six months will start from the date the material is filed by the petitioner.

The writ petition, is therefore, disposed of accordingly.

sd/-

S.N. BHARGAVA.

[Faint, mostly illegible text, possibly a list or report. Some words like "SECRET" are visible in reverse.]

SECRET

DEPUTY REGISTER

Handwritten signature or initials

for information and necessary action.

Copy forwarded to the Home Secretary, New D.

28/12/27

1866

-7-

58



3750/JS(AP)/93
5/10/93

(7) 59

Immediate
Our Section's file may be sent
JS(H). P.H. and please keep
a copy. Z. S.

संयुक्त सचिव
गृह मंत्रालय
भारत सरकार
नार्थ ब्लॉक, नई दिल्ली-110001
JOINT SECRETARY
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
NORTH, BLOCK NEW DELHI-110001

PHONE : 3015785

JS (AP)

MOST IMMEDIATE/BY SPECIAL MESSENGER/
COURT CASE

D.O.No.1/27/91-Public

5 October, 1993.

Dear Shri Dilip Lahiri,

I enclose a copy of my D.O.letter No.5293/JS(A)/93 dated September 27, 1993, addressed to Shri Vijay Kumar, regarding the judgement dated 4th March, 1987, delivered by Hon'ble Shri Justice S.N. Bhargava of the High Court of Judicature, Rajasthan, relating to the inquiry into the circumstances in which Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose died.

2. Shri Vijay Kumar told me that he has passed on my letter to you as you are concerned with the subject.

3. May I request you kindly to expedite your reply? We are dealing with a writ petition in the Calcutta High Court in which the aforesaid Judgement has been relied upon and we have to tell the Court what action has been taken in pursuance of the Judgement. Any delay will embarrass us and will result in Contempt of Court proceedings.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. Venkateswara Iyer
(M.VENKATESWARA IYER)

Shri Dilip Lahiri,
Joint Secretary (AP),
Ministry of External Affairs,
New Delhi-110001.

Df a please
hsh
8/10/93

JS (AP)

Please

9/10

PA

P.S. I spoke to you today.

M. Venkateswara Iyer
5.10.93



M. VENKATESWARA IYER

संयुक्त सचिव
JOINT SECRETARY

Phone: 3015785

D.O.No.5293/JS(A)/93

MOST IMMEDIATE/BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

COURT CASE

भारत सरकार

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

गृह मंत्रालय

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

नार्थ ब्लॉक, नई दिल्ली-११०००१

NORTH BLOCK, NEW DELHI-110001

September 27, 1993.

Dear Shri Vijay Kumar,

I enclose a copy of the judgement dated 4 March, 1987, delivered by Hon'ble Justice Mr. S.N. Bhargava of the High Court of Judicature, Rajasthan. As you will see, this judgement relates to the inquiry into the circumstances in which Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose died. The first inquiry in this matter was ordered by the Ministry of External Affairs who set up the Netaji Inquiry Committee under the chairmanship of Shah Nawaz Khan.

2. The aforesaid judgement has been relied upon in a writ petition filed in the Calcutta High Court by one Shri Bijan Ghosh and certain others who have joined him as added respondents.

3. According to the judgement of the High Court of Rajasthan, the Ministry of External Affairs were required to look into the matter once again and examine all the available evidence including all the papers and other materials which the petitioner had claimed that he had at his disposal. The concluding part of the judgement may please be seen in this regard.

4. As we have to give para-wise comments in respect of the writ petition pending in the High Court at Calcutta, we are interested in knowing immediately what action was taken by the Ministry of External Affairs in pursuance of the judgement of the High Court of Rajasthan.

5. We shall be grateful if you will consider the matter and send us a reply immediately. If you are not dealing with this matter, kindly pass it on to the concerned Joint Secretary with the request to send me a reply urgently. Also, kindly let me know who is the officer concerned so that I can be in touch with him.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

(M. Venkateswara Iyer)

Sent by
P.O. No. 10/93
27.9.93

Shri Vijay Kumar,
Joint Secretary (Coord),
Ministry of External Affairs,
New Delhi.

Most Immediate
By Spl. Messenger

C/551/12/93 - JS

Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)

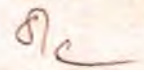
Our current file no. C/551/7/92 on Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose sent from Secretary (East)'s Office vide diary no. 1479/Secy(E)/93 dt. 17.9.93 to JS(M), PMO, is required urgently in connection with an enquiry received from the Home Ministry. Grateful if we could have the file back. A copy of JS(Shri M. Venkateswara Iyer), MHA is attached for information.



(Primrose R. Sharma)
Director (AP)
07.10.93

DS(S), PMO

CC: Shri M. Venkateswara Iyer, JS, MHA



sh.P.

(8)

62
MOST IMMEDIATE

प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

S/998/APD/83
12/10

नई दिल्ली - 110011
NEW DELHI - 110011

Reference is invited to Director (AP)'s note No. C/551/7/92-JP of 7.10.1993. MEA's File No.C/551/7/92-JP and F.No.C/551/14/90-JP (along with a folder bearing No.C/551/7/92-JP) regarding Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose are returned herewith and may kindly be sent back to this Office as soon as possible for further action.

Sujata Mehta

(Sujata Mehta)
Deputy Secretary

✓
Ms. Primrose R. Sharma, Director (AP), MEA
PMO U.O. No.870/11/P/10/93-Pol dated 8.10.1993

~~3/2/93~~

63
(9)

Most Immediate/Secret

Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)

Reference PMO UD Note No. 870/11/P/10/93-Pol dt.
8.10.93. Files no. C/551/7/92-JP & C/551/14/90-JP (alongwith a
folder bearing No. C/551/7/92-JP) regarding Netaji Subhash
Chandra Bose are returned herewith, as desired.

R. Sharma

(Primrose R. Sharma)
Director (AP)
08.10.93

1687/Dor/AP/93
etc

Ms. Sujata Mehta,
DS(S), PMO

etc

~~used~~

Pl. file carefully.
Since original file is in PMO.
pl. open post file with original
no.

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sop AP

A. sph.

Sh. P

21/x/83



Most Immediate
By Spl. Messenger

विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली-११

Dilip Lahiri
Joint Secretary (AP)

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
NEW DELHI-110011

No. C/551/7/92-JP

October 8, 1993

Dear *Shri Iyer,*

Please refer to your letter no. 1/27/91-Public dt. 5.10.93 regarding the judgement dated 4th March, 1987 delivered by Hon'ble Shri Justice S.N. Bhargava of the High Court of Judicature, Rajasthan relating to the inquiry into the circumstances in which Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose died. The factual position is as follows:-

2. Subsequent to the judgement having been passed, it was brought to the notice of this Ministry that the petitioner had died. Coordination Division of this Ministry had, therefore, informed Shri Talekar, Counsel of the late petitioner that as the petitioner had passed away before the meeting with the MEA/Government of India representative could take place, no further action was called for on the part of the Government of India. Our Legal and Treaties Division had also opined inter-alia that since no evidence or documents of any kind were ever produced by Shri Nand Lal Sharma, the occasion to consider whether or not a fresh enquiry was required did not arise.

3. You are no doubt aware that the CCPA at its meeting on 27.2.91 had considered a note prepared by your Ministry on the dispute regarding the ashes of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose as also the controversy whether Netaji was dead or alive where the CCPA had approved the proposal that "no useful purpose would be served by holding yet another enquiry or bringing the ashes back to India at present as this might create unnecessary tensions."

Yours sincerely,

(Signature)
(Dilip Lahiri)

Shri M. Venkateswara Iyer,
Joint Secretary,
Ministry of Home Affairs,
New Delhi

4037/JS(AD) (65)
22/10/93
6786 | JS(NB) 193
21/10 (11)

~~SECRET~~
MOST IMMEDIATE

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

Subject: Controversy regarding Netaji's death and bringing his ashes to India from Japan.

Placed below is a copy of reference received from Prime Minister's Office on the subject mentioned above.

2. It is requested that your views/comments in the matter may please be furnished to this Ministry urgently to process the case further.

lun

(C.V.S.K. SARMA)
DEPUTY SECRETARY (IS)

M/o External Affairs (Sh. Shiv Shankar Menon, JS(NE)), South Block, New Delhi.

M.H.A. U.O. NO. I/12014/27/93-IS(D.III) Dated, the 21st Oct., 93.

JS/2/x

JS(AD)

*He shall have to send a fairly detailed note
PI prepares DFA. PI examine also in this connection the
letter of Benar Gula to Govt. of India in Washington with the
press clipping.*

D.v (AP)

Amu

26.10.

4/15/JS(151)/93
 (66) 13/X

P-1119/148193
 14/X
 SECRET

Subject:- Controversy regarding Netaji's death and bringing his ashes to India from Japan.

.....

The matter regarding the death of Shri Subhash Chandra Bose and proposal to bring his ashes to India from Japan was last considered by the CCPA vide Ministry of Home Affairs note No. I/12014/6/90-IS(D-III) dated 10.1.1991. The view taken at that time was that no purpose would be served by holding another inquiry into the death of Netaji or by bringing back his ashes to India.

2. MEA have now brought to our notice that a journal published from Moscow is likely to publish a series of articles based on classified KGB archives alleging inter alia that Netaji was an MI-6 agent and one of his close aides was a KGB agent. MEA are taking steps at the diplomatic level to contain the likely fallout from this publication. However, it is possible that the articles, if published, may revive the controversy about Netaji's death and his ashes.

3. It may also be kept in view that Netaji's birth centenary is due in 1997. The controversy about his ashes may have to be settled one way or the other before that time.

4. MHA are, therefore, requested to look into this matter and prepare a paper for the Cabinet on the likely form that this controversy may take and the options for dealing with it.

Urgent

45 (45)

1/12

ISA

(Signature)

(A.N. Varma)
 Principal Secretary to PM

Home Secretary

PMO U.O. No.870/11/P/10/93-Pol

dated 13.10.1993

for 404

15/10/93

JS(251)

15/10/93

15/10/93

15/10

15/10

18/10

3/11/97 (67)
12

UNITED NEWS OF INDIA

(H. O. 9, Rafi Marg, New Delhi-1)

Phone : { Res: 20147
Office: 20471
21538

Imphal Office :
Prajatantra Buildings
IMPHAL, MANIPUR

Imphal 25 October 1993

To
The Secretary (East)
Ministry of External Affairs
South Block
New Delhi-I

Subject: Japan Government Memorial in
Manipur

Sir,

I have an interview with Mr Shutaro Kotani,
Chairman of Imphal Committee of Indo-Japan War Veterans
Association of Japan, Tokyo who came here on 17 October
1993 in connection with the construction of the Monument
at Maibam Lokpaching, Manipur. He told me that Indian
Government has agreed 5000 sq mtrs of land and the
monument constructed on it by Japan Government ~~will be~~
handed over to Japan Government for possession/occupation
of it. He also further said that construction will be
started soon and it will be inaugurated on 21 March 1994.
He also said that if Indian Government does not allow
to inaugurate the Monument on 21 March 1994, the relation
between two countries may be very bad.

I want to write a story on this, but I do not
believe what he said. If what he said is correct, there
may be great noise in Indian Parliament.

This is very alarming news as Manipur is not
only frontier areas but also sensitive, prohibited,
protected, restricted and disturbed area.

I shall be very grateful, if you kindly consider
to enlighten me about the actual fact.

Yours faithfully

(L. JOYCHANDRA SINGH)
BUREAU IN CHARGE
UNITED NEWS OF INDIA
IMPHAL OFFICE
MANIPUR

P. handle this
3/11/97
3 SC (AP)
Pl write to him
24/10/93
I shall write to me
before mail.
D. (AP)
Joychandra
Bureau

wa 96 / JS(AD) / 93
8/11/93

68/1089-JS/Nr/153
8/11

(13)

SECRET
MOST IMMEDIATE

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

.....

Subject: Controversy regarding Netaji's death and bringing his ashes to India from Japan.

.....

Reference is invited to this Ministry's U.O. of even number dated 21st October, 1993 on the subject mentioned above and to request that your views/comments in the matter may please be furnished to this Ministry urgently.

(C I. JOY)
DIRECTOR(IS-I)

IB(Shri V.G. Vaidya, Director).

Cabinet Secretariat (R&AW)(Shri A.S. Syali, Secretary(R))
Room No.3, South Block, New Delhi.

✓ M/o External Affairs(Shri Shiv Shankar Menon, JS(NE),
South Block, New Delhi.

MHA U.O.NO.1/12014/27/93-IS(D.III) Dated the 3rd Nov., 1993.

SECRET

JS/11

JS(AD)

As directed by P. P. P. P.
M. L. M. L.

JS/11

D. V. (M)

69
H. Tunes 4.11.93

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FB opposed to monument

CALCUTTA: The Forward Bloc would oppose tooth and nail what it said the reported decision of the Centre to make available with the "War Veterans Association of Japan" approximately 5000 sq metres of land at Maibam Lokpaching, 25 km off Imphal, for construction of a monument in memory of the Japanese soldiers who died in Manipur during the World War-II, reports PTI.

The Forward Bloc all-India general secretary and Lok Sabha member, Mr Chitta Basu, said that he had written to Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao, on Oct. 28 last protesting against the reported decision and wanted to know the terms and conditions for the transfer of the land, if already sanctioned.

Mr Basu said that the Prime Minister had acknowledged the receipt of his letter without any comments thereon.

Mr Basu said the national council of the party condemned the reported decision of the Centre and also the Manipur Government as these actions were most brazen, shameful and were dubious attempts at falsifying the history of the freedom movement by denigrating the role of the INA led by Subhas Chandra Bose.

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The Hindustan
Times, 4th Nov.
1993

SH

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FB opposed to monument

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Bhim Singh flays BJP

NEW DELHI: The president

(71) 16


~~SECRET~~
MOST IMMEDIATE

Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)

Sub : Controversy regarding Netaji's death and bringing his ashes to India from Japan.


Reference Ministry of Home Affairs UD note No I/12014/27/93-IS(D.III) of 21 Oct 93 and 3 Nov 93 on the subject referred to above. A detailed note incorporating the views of this Ministry is enclosed as desired.

This issues with the approval of the Foreign Secretary


(Dilip Lahiri)
JS (AP)
23.11.93

M/o Home Affairs (Sh C.I. Joy, Dir (IS-1),)
MEA UD Note No. C/551/12/93-JP dt 23.11.93

Copy to Dir (EAMO) for kind information of EAM. We understand MHA as the nodal Ministry is preparing a note on the matter MEA's views had also been sought.


(Primrose R. Sharma)
Director (AP)
23.11.93

Recd
23/11
Amr-2 23/11


~~SECRET~~MOST IMMEDIATE

Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)

Sub : Controversy regarding Netaji's death and bringing
his ashes to India from Japan.


Reference Ministry of Home Affairs UO note No. I/12014/27/93-IS(D.III) of 21 Oct 93 and 3 Nov 93 on the subject referred to above. A detailed note incorporating the views of this Ministry is enclosed as desired.

This issues with the approval of the Foreign Secretary.


(Dilip Lahiri)
JS (AP)
23.11.93

M/o Home Affairs (Sh C.I. Joy, Dir (IS-1),)
MEA UO Note No. C/551/12/93-JP dt 23.11.93

Copy to Dir (EAMO) for kind information of EAM. We understand MHA as the nodal Ministry is preparing a note on the matter. MEA's views had also been sought.


(Primrose R. Sharma)
Director (AP)
23.11.93

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MOST IMMEDIATE

Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)

Sub : Controversy regarding Netaji's death and bringing
his ashes to India from Japan.

Reference Ministry of Home Affairs UD note No.
1/12014/27/93-IS(D.III) of 21 Oct 93 and 3 Nov 93 on the subject
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JS (AP)
23.11.93

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MEA UD Note No. C/551/12/93-JP dt 23.11.93

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Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)

CONTROVERSY REGARDING NETAJI SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE'S
DEATH AND BRINGING HIS ASHES TO INDIA FROM JAPAN

Background

Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose allegedly died in a plane crash in Taihoku (Taiwan) in August 1945. He was 49 years old at that time. His ashes were taken to the Renkoji temple in Tokyo by Habibur Rahman, a colleague of Netaji and handed over to the priest of the temple, the Ven'ble Mochizuki, (who died in 1980) and who has been succeeded by his son.

Two Committees of Inquiry and CCPA Decision of 1991

2. Two Committees of inquiry were set up by the Government of India - The Shahnawaz Khan Committee in 1956 and the one man Khosla Committee in 1970 to go into the matter of Netaji's death. Both Committees concluded that Subhash Chandra Bose had indeed died in the crash at Taihoku in 1945, although Netaji's own brother, S.C. Bose, who was a member of the Shahnawaz Khan Committee, gave a dissenting judgment. Subsequently, the CCPA decided that "no useful purpose would be served by holding yet another inquiry or by bringing the ashes back to India at present as this might create unnecessary tensions."

Controversy over Netaji's Death and return of ashes to India

3. The controversy on whether or not Netaji actually died in 1945 in Taihoku, and whether the ashes in the Renkoji Temple

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are indeed those of Netaji, is being continued by a very vocal minority among whose leading figures is Shri Samar Guha and the Forward Bloc. As against to this, there are many, including some of Netaji's relatives, who accept that the ashes are genuine and they have paid homage to them at the Renkoji Temple, as indeed, did Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi. They feel that the ashes should be brought back to India, with all due respect and honour as befitting a person of Netaji's stature as part of the full public recognition of Netaji's role and contribution to Indian independence.

4. Former soldiers of the Japanese Imperial Army who worked with or were associated with Netaji and the Indian National Army (INA) are also strong proponents of this course of action. These veterans, (who are members of the Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose Academy in Tokyo) are very concerned that they are all old and very few of them are left. They fear that, with their passing away, there will be no one left to look after the ashes of Netaji. The present priest of the temple, who took over after his father's death, does not hold the same respect for the ashes as his father.

5. From time to time the War Veterans have been enquiring through our Embassy in Tokyo and the Embassy of Japan in New Delhi to ascertain our plans for bringing the ashes back to India. The Government of Japan has indicated that it would go along with whatever the Government of India wished to do but at the same time they have indicated that they were under some pressure from

the war veterans.

6. The matter has now assumed some urgency. The annual get together of the war veterans of the Subhash Chandra Bose Academy in Tokyo, on the occasion of 48th Memorial Service this year had received wide media coverage in Japan as the Japanese media had also been invited. The press reports focused on the concern expressed by the War Veterans of the Academy over Government of India's lack of interest in wishing to receive the ashes of Netaji back to India. The Bose Academy members are reportedly thinking of disbanding and having the last memorial service in 1995 on the occasion of the 50th anniversary. If no decision is taken by that time, we may be asked by the temple to take charge of the ashes and may have no alternative but to store them in our Mission in Tokyo.

Information from Russia

7. On the basis of information and pressure exerted by people like Samar Guha, who has never accepted the death of Netaji, we had also asked our mission in Moscow to ascertain from the erstwhile Soviet Union/present Russian Federation if they had any information about Netaji's presence in Russia during or after 1945. The Russian Foreign Office had indicated that their archives do not contain any material indicating Netaji had gone to the Soviet Union. On the other hand, we have been informed by a Russian Indologist, Professor Albert Belski, who is associated with the bi-monthly "Asia and Africa Today" that the magazine is coming out with a series of articles, allegedly based on classified KGB archives, claiming, inter alia, that Netaji Subhash

Chandra Bose was an MI - 6 (British) agent and that one of his close associates was a KGB agent. A copy of a note from our mission in Moscow is enclosed (Annexure I). The first article in the series has been apparently been published. We are awaiting a translated text from our Mission.

Controversy regarding Peace Memorial at Imphal

8. The Hindustan Times of November 4 has reported that the Forward Bloc would oppose "tooth and nail" the decision of the Government of India to allow the construction of a monument in memory of Japanese soldiers who died in Manipur during World War II as these were, according to the party (Forward Bloc) dubious attempts at falsify the freedom movement by denigrating the role of the INA led by Subhash Chandra Bose. The Forward Bloc had earlier been opposed to bringing back the ashes from Japan. It may also be borne in mind that the Forward Bloc had been founded by Netaji in 1939.

MEA's Views

- (i) There appears to be widespread sentiment that Netaji's birth centenary in 1997 should be appropriately commemorated and that Netaji's ashes should be brought back to India with due respect and honour. Opposition to bringing back the ashes is only from a small group of Forward Bloc figures and Shri Samar Guha.
- (ii) In the likely event that the Japanese Temple approaches us over the next 2 or 3 years to take charge of the ashes, it would be most inappropriate if we declined to

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do so, or stored the ashes unobtrusively in our Mission, due to the continuing controversy over the ashes being kept alive by a small minority.

(iii) A consensus in favour of burying the controversy and bringing the ashes back to India from Japan could be promoted if the likely contingency of our being constrained to dispose of Netaji's ashes as indicated in Para 2 above was made known publicly. Respected public figures and others could be discreetly encouraged to make statements, including in Parliament, requesting the Government to bring back the ashes.

(iv) Alternatively, a Committee to commemorate Netaji's birth centenary in 1997 could be established, with the participation of public figures of various political opinions, and the call to bring back Netaji's ashes could be made by the Committee.

(18) (79)
Embassy of India
Moscow

Annexure I
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Meeting with Mr. V.K. Touradjev, Deputy Editor-in-Chief,
"Asia and Africa Today", at 1200 hrs. on 29 June 93

As desired by the Ambassador, I called on Mr. V.K. Touradjev, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the monthly journal "Asia and Africa Today" at 1200 hrs. on 29 June 1993. After exchanging pleasantries and exploring the possibility of further cooperation between the Mission and the journal "Asia and Africa Today", I enquired from Touradjev whether "Asia and Africa Today" would soon start publishing a series of articles, based on KGB archives, alleging inter-alia that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was an MI-6 agent and that a close aide of his had worked for the KGB.

Touradjev confirmed that the August (8/93) issue of "Asia and Africa Today" would carry an article titled "The Secret Behind the Death of S.C. Bose" by Prof. Raikov, a well known Indologist based in Liptsk. The article would explore the various theories advanced from time to time, regarding the circumstances of Netaji's death. Its inclusion was essentially meant to generate reader interest in two further articles which would be published in the September (9/93) and October (10/93) issues of "Asia and Africa Today". Touradjev clarified that he was the author of these two articles and that they were based on KGB archives which he had been privileged to personally examine and which had been shared with him by contacts he had in the Russian intelligence service. In an attempt to convince me that his articles were based on genuine KGB documents, Touradjev showed me from afar a copy of a letter dated 11/12/1943, marked "MOST SECRET", and addressed by a Col. G.A. Hill of British Intelligence to a Col. Osipov of Soviet Intelligence.

In response to a query, Touradjev clarified that to the best of his knowledge the Russian Intelligence Service did not possess a separate file on Netaji. In his view, this would seem to show that Netaji had never visited the Soviet Union since, at least in earlier years, a file was usually opened on every foreigner arriving in the country. The documents he had based his articles upon were primarily reports filed by the then Russian intelligence

agents in Kabul, letters addressed by British Intelligence to their Soviet counterparts, plus other stray correspondence which he had come across in the KGB archives.

I specifically queried Touradjev as to whether his two articles contained references alleging that Netaji had been a British agent. If so, this would be quite unfortunate, given that Netaji was a widely respected national leader whose memory was deeply cherished by the people of India.

In response to this and other queries, Touradjev made the following points:


- (a) His articles did not bring out that Netaji was a MI-6 agent, in the sense of his being a "paid functionary". Equally, they did, however, show that Netaji "cooperated" with the British. In this context, Touradjev pointed out that without British acquiescence Netaji could not have escaped so easily from India or lived for so long in Kabul. Moreover, the instructions which Netaji sent from Berlin for carrying out subversive acts against the British in India, were never translated into action since the British knew of them and could take corrective measures. Touradjev repeatedly emphasized that the KGB documentation which he had access to left him in no doubt that "Netaji had cooperated with the British". He added that only MI-6 could inform whether the relationship went beyond "cooperation" as additional details would only be available with them. He hoped that, once his articles were published, the British would join in sharing information on Netaji.
- (b) The KGB documentation, however, conclusively established that Bhagat Ram - Netaji's aide in Kabul - had served as an agent of several foreign intelligence services e.g. the British, Russian, German, Italian and others. This would be brought out clearly in his articles.
- (c) His articles would be "scientifically presented" in the sense that they would fully annotated and would provide details of every important document referred to or quoted. They would thus analyze specific documentation and would not be largely speculative.

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(d) In his view, the KGB archives material which he has quoted in his articles made Netaji "go up in his esteem, since it showed that he (Netaji) had contributed to the defeat of Fascism". He felt that his articles would in fact show Netaji as being an "even greater nationalist" since Netaji had striven for an independent India, rather than an India subservient to Germany or Japan. Touradjev clarified that the intention behind his articles was not to denigrate Netaji as a leader who had the best interests of India in mind, but to contribute to a better understanding of Netaji's historic role.

In response to my query, Touradjev pointed out that the August (8/93) and September (9/93) issues of "Asia and Africa Today" (containing Prof. Raikov's articles and the first of his two articles) had already been sent to the printers. I did not specifically urge him to have the articles withdrawn, since it was evident that he would not do so in any case.


(Ajai Malhotra)
Counsellor (Inf.)
30.6. 1993

Ambassador

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24/10/93
1137/Dir(M)/93
24/11

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MOST IMMEDIATE.

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

Sub: Controversy regarding Netaji's death and bringing his ashes to India from Japan.

Please refer to this Ministry's U.O. of even number dated 21st October, 1993 and subsequent reminder, dated 3rd November, 1993, on the above subject.

It is requested that MHA's views/comments in the matter may please be furnished to this Ministry urgently.

[Signature]
(C.I. JOY)
DIRECTOR (IS-I)

Ministry of External Affairs
(Shri Dilip Lahiri, JS(AP), NEW DELHI.
MHA's U.O.No. 1/12014/27/93-IS(D.III), dated -11-93.

*I tell him that we are consulting EAM
and will send it soon.*

*D. (AP)
Discussed with JS(AD)
Reply has been sent - letter has
worked. Copy sent to Dir (EAM)
for RAdin up*

*24/11
NRA
AD*

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हार्दयस आफ इंडिया
THE TIMES OF INDIA
Dated 21-X-93

**PM's rich
tributes
to Netaji**

NEW DELHI, October 20 (PTI) :
The Prime Minister Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, tonight paid eloquent tributes to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, describing him as a true democrat who put the nation's interest above all else.

Netaji saw his provisional government as a force working in tandem with all patriotic forces in the country, Mr Rao said in his message to the nation on the eve of the golden jubilee of the founding of the provisional government of Azad Hind.

The formation of the government in exile was the culmination of the efforts of Netaji to mobilise all Indians outside India in those days to organise them to wage a war against the British government

Netaji's file
shp

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ब्रिगेडियर लक्ष्मी फौज

1949-50 के लिए भारत के पोस्ट, मेडिकल कॉलेज रोड, पूर्वी बंगाल राज्य, कोलकाता
उत्तर प्रदेश (भारत में)

निकल पड़े हैं हम, सर के बांधे कफन ।
लाख टूफान आये, रुजड़ने न देंगे जमन ॥

दिनांक 2.11.83

APN

4531/83 (APN) 24/11/83 12/4/83 16/11

3/11/83 3/11/83 16/11/83 12/4/83 16/11/83

सेवा में,
आदरणीय विदेश मंत्री महोदय
भारत सरकार, विदेश मंत्रालय
नई दिल्ली ।

निदेशक (रजि.आ.)

मान्यवर,
सविनय निवेदन है कि हमारा संगठन स्वदेश के प्रति समर्पित महिलाओं का एक छोटा सा समूह है जिसकी नींव "रानी शांती रेजीमेन्ट" की प्रेरणा से पड़ी है । देश के प्रति समर्पित भूतपूर्व महान नेताओं को हम श्रद्धा के समान ही पूज्य मानते हैं । उनमें भी नेता जी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस तो सर्वश्रेष्ठ हैं । विभिन्न प्रसार माध्यमों से हमें पता चलता है कि नेता जी के सहयोगी रह चुके कुछ जापानी युद्ध सैनिकों ने उनके पास सुरक्षित रखी । नेताजी की अस्थियों को भारत से सादर मंगाने का अनुरोध किया है । हम लोग इस विवाद में नहीं पड़ना चाहते कि जापान में रहे हुये के अस्थि अवशेष हमारे ब्रह्मलीन स्व० नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के हैं या नहीं । पर उसके साथ उस महान आत्मा का नाम अधिग्रहण नहीं हुआ है । तथा इसके साथ ही साथ स्व० नेताजी के महान जापानी अनुयायियों की आस्था शक्ति तथा तपस्या भी जुड़ी हुई है । हमारा कृतित कर्तव्य बनता है कि उन जापानी शक्तियों को विवाद के कारण मायूस न होने दें तथा नेताजी के नाम की गरिमा भी बनाये रखें । अतः हम चाहते हैं कि आप हमें उस अस्थि वलण को श्रद्धापूर्वक अपने देश में लाने की आज्ञा प्रदान करें । तथा हमें हर प्रकार का वैधानिक सहयोग दें ।

कृपया पत्र का उत्तर शीघ्र दें । बीस दिनों की अवधि के अन्दर आपका उत्तर न प्राप्त होने पर हमें अपने स्तर से इसे प्रिथान्वित करने की आपकी कृपया अनुमति समझी जायेगी ।

धन्यवाद ।

भवदीय (Signature) 2/11/83

कैप्टन

क. अलका मिश्रा

अध्यक्ष - 1 - श्रीमती उर्मिला दिकेरी

2-

Hindi Section is requested kindly

give us an English translation of this paper.

for (APN) may like to see it

12/11/83

23/11/83

Hindi Section

आभार संलग्न है ।

To. Honorable Minister,
The MHA. Govt. of India (87)
New Delhi

It is requested that our organization
established with the encouragement of Rani
Thakri Regiment is a small group of women—
dedicated to the nation. Ex leaders dedicated
to the nation are respectable ~~little~~ for us
like Gadh. Achaji Subhash Chandra Bose is best
among ~~them~~. Thouge media we ^{have} come to
know that some old Japanese Colleges of Achaji
have requested to collect the ashes of Achaji
kept safe with them. We don't want to
include in ^{the} parts that whether the said
ashes belong to ~~achaji~~ and his leader or not
but to name of that great soul is attached
with these ashes. ~~Besides this~~ The faith and
devotion of Japanese followers of Achaji
Subhash Chandra Bose. It is our sacred
duty to maintain the dignity of ~~the~~ Achaji.
Kindly cooperate with us and give the
permission to bring
these ashes into our country.

Please reply soon. If we do not
receive your reply ~~we~~ we received nothing

20 days we will treat it ~~your~~ as your acceptance
to the proposal and take action at our own level.

Thanking you

Yours faithfully

captain
(Am. Alka Mishra)

Smt. Renuka Trivedi

Free Lance Journalist

C/o. REKHA TRIVEDI B.A. (Hons), LL.B.

EX. METROPOLITAN MAGISTRATE

5, Smita Lalubhai Park, Andheri,
BOMBAY-400 058 (W) TEL. 628 1835



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Govt. undecided on Netaji's ashes

NEW DELHI, May 11 (PTI):

The government of India is of the view that bringing the ashes, reported to be of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, back to India from Japan, in the absence of a consensus on the issue might prove diversive and create tensions, Mr R. L. Bhatia, minister of state for external affairs, told the Rajya Sabha today.

"The issue of Netaji's death is charged with emotion and opinions remain divided, Mr Bhatia told Mr Viren J. Shah in a written reply.

He said many people including Netaji's nephews still doubt the event of Netaji's reported death and question the veracity of the ashes.

There have been repeated requests from the Renkoji temple where the ashes have been kept, and Japanese associates of Netaji for the ashes to return to India, he said.

Attempts have also been made to have the ashes brought back to India with all reverence and honour as befitting a man of the stature of Netaji, the minister said.

There have been attempts to have a new enquiry instituted on the question of Netaji's death in the air crash on August 18, 1945, after the two inquiry commissions concluded that the ashes kept at the Renkoji temple were those of Netaji, he said.

To,

Hon. President : Govt. of India.

Hon. Prime Minister, India.

Hon. Minister for state.

External affairs, New Delhi.

Hon. Governor, Maharashtra.

Respected sirs,

Herewith I enclose you
press cutting pertaining
to Netaji's ashes. Govt.
should not hesitate to
bring ashes back to India
with all reverence & same
should be immerse in
holy water of our Holy
rivers.

Please do needful in
the matter & oblige.

Yours faithfully,

Renuka Trivedi, India.
12.5.94.

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JL (AP)

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DS (AP)

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"हो सकता है मैं आपके विचारों से सहमत न हो पाऊँ, फिर भी विचार प्रकट करने के आपके अधिकारों की रक्षा करूँगा।"

वाल्तेयर

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~~SECRET~~

MOST IMMEDIATE

Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)

Sub : Controversy regarding Netaji's death and bringing his ashes to India from Japan.

Reference Ministry of Home Affairs UO note No. I/12014/27/93-IS(D.III) of 21 Oct 93 and 3 Nov 93 on the subject referred to above. A detailed note incorporating the views of this Ministry is enclosed as desired.

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Dilip Lahiri
(Dilip Lahiri)
JS (AP)
23.11.93

M/o Home Affairs (Sh C.I. Joy, Dir (IS-1).)
MEA UO Note No. C/551/12/93-Jp dt 23.11.93

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Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)

CONTROVERSY REGARDING NETAJI SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE'S
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- (ii) In the likely event that the Japanese Temple approaches us over the next 2 or 3 years to take charge of the ashes, it would be most inappropriate if we declined to

do so, or stored the ashes unobtrusively in our Mission, due to the continuing controversy over the ashes being kept alive by a small minority.

(iii) A consensus in favour of burying the controversy and bringing the ashes back to India from Japan could be promoted if the likely contingency of our being constrained to dispose of Netaji's ashes as indicated in Para 2 above was made known publicly. Respected public figures and others could be discreetly encouraged to make statements, including in Parliament, requesting the Government to bring back the ashes.

(iv) Alternatively, a Committee to commemorate Netaji's birth centenary in 1997 could be established, with the participation of public figures of various political opinions, and the call to bring back Netaji's ashes could be made by the Committee.

4737/JS(AP)193

(96)

7/12/93

(24)

~~SECRET~~
~~MOST IMMEDIATE~~

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

Sub: Controversy regarding Netaji's death and bringing his ashes to India from Japan.

The Ministry of External Affairs may please refer to their U.O.No.C/551/12/93-JP, dated 23rd November, 1993, on the above subject.

2. It is requested that copies of the articles (with English translation if in Russian) along with your final comments may please be sent to this Ministry urgently to prepare the Cabinet Note.



(C.I. JOY)
DIRECTOR (IS-I)

Ministry of External Affairs

(Shri Dilip Lahiri, JS(AP), NEW DELHI.

MHA's UO No. I/12014/27/93-IS(D.II), dated 7th Dec., 1993.

Pl keep in touch with EE Div who have asked for
to send the articles.

OK



9/12/93

GP

97
No. C/577/12/92 JP

Ministry of External Affairs
(Asia Pacific Division)


Sub: Writ petition No. C.O.6720(W) of 1993
filed in the Calcutta High Court by
Shri Bijan Ghosh challenging the
declaration of Bharat Ratna Award
posthumously to Netaji Subash Chandra Bose

Reference preceding notings.

2. Asia Pacific Division has been involved primarily on account of the fact that the ashes of Netaji are housed at the Renkoji Temple in Tokyo.

3. The writ petition refers primarily to information that would be available in countries under the jurisdiction of other territorial divisions.

3. We would agree with the suggestions of Director (L&T) in para 5 and 6 of his note.


(Primrose R. Sharma)
Director (AP)

4/1/1994

JS(AP) on tour /o.r.

FS

1 AS(CCG-15)

AB

4/1/94

(25) 98

I have just now received the enclosed pps.
25(45) may kindly see Foreign Secretary's note.

Recd Jan 5 1994
16/28/12

SRamaker
28/12 5.05P

Please indicate the
action required / discuss

B 28/12

DoS Ramana }
S. L. Gill } Directors (LH)

Urgent
discuss

MOST IMMEDIATE

Legal & Treaties Division
.....

211/57 (457) 10
25-12-93

17691/FS/93
31/12

Reference FS' note dated 28.12.93 and the FR, memorandum from the Ministry of Home Affairs enclosing a copy of writ petition filed by Shri Bijan Ghose in the Calcutta High Court challenging the declaration of Bharat Ratna Award posthumously to Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

2. We have gone through this writ petition praying to implead Secretary, MEA, Secretary, Ministry of Defence and others as respondents to the pending original writ petition which is not enclosed.

3. This petition has emerged from a Counter Affidavit filed by Prof. Samar Guha who has also been added as a party to the pending proceedings vide Court order dated 29 Sept 1993. Since the Counter Affidavit filed by Prof Guha referred to the certain correspondence between him and the EAM (Shri Dinesh Singh) and a letter dated 29 March 1991 from Shri Digvijoy Singh, the then Deputy Minister for External Affairs and Shri I.K.Gujral, the then EAM including a letter written in February 1978 by Shri N.G.Goray, the then High Commissioner of India, London to Lord Mountbatten including the text of the Parliament Question and the reply by Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee, the then EAM including some correspondence referred to by the former Prime Minister, Shri V.P.Singh. The petitioner pleaded that the presence of Ministry of External Affairs is necessary in order to enable the trial Court effectually adjudicate upon all the issues raised in the present writ proceedings, on the basis of the information that this Ministry may be in a position to provide.

4. The presence as referred to in paragraph 18, page 10 does not mean the physical presence of the FS himself. It requires MEA to enter an appearance to be represented through counsel or an officer subordinated.

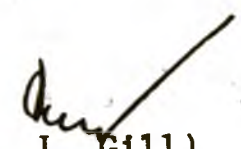
.....contd..

(from pre-page)

5. The course of action required at this stage is that we may in consultation with the Branch Secretariat of the Ministry of Law, Calcutta, ~~to~~ appoint a suitable Government counsel who will appear representing Secretary, MEA and should seek adjournment on 19.1.1994 to enable the Government of India to file a Counter Affidavit for which the information is required from the various Missions abroad.

6. In the meantime a suitable officer of the Coordination Division may be designated to collect information from abroad through our Territorial Divisions to enable the Ministry to ~~file~~ ^{prepare} a Counter Affidavit.

7. This is only a petition to implead more respondents including Secretary, MEA and not a Court verdict, order or instructions on addition of the respondents and thereby directing respondents to appear in person.


(T. L. Gill)
Director (L&T)
29 Dec 1993

DS(FSO)

OUT TODAY.

Grateful for advise, specially regarding point 5 & 6 of note above, so that it could be submitted for Foreign Secretary's kind consideration on his return from Islamabad on January 3, 1994 please.

Munira
31/12/93
DS(FSO).

JS (Coord).

The matter has been handed by JS (AP) who has been working on it.

Vijay Kumar
31/12

JS (AP) on leave.

Urgent

Dir (AP) may kindly see. L
3/1

Dir (AP)?

1/1/94
28/30/12

3/JS (Coord) 93
1/1/94

MOST IMMEDIATE

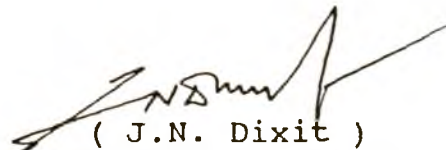
FOREIGN SECRETARY'S OFFICE

....

Will Director (L&T) study the attached Office Memorandum from the Ministry of Home Affairs from its Director (O&M & Vig.)?

2. The attached papers concern a writ petition filed in the Calcutta High Court by one Mr. Bijan Ghosh challenging the declaration of Bharat Ratna Award posthumously to Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. He has submitted that there is no conclusive evidence about the demise of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

3. The Calcutta High Court has required the presence of the Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs and Secretary (Defence) at their court on the 19th of January. Please check out how we can overcome the problems posed in the petition and how we can meet the orders of the court without affecting our work and programmes here. I am particularly busy in January as I am demitting office at the end of the month. So please sort this matter out quickly.


(J.N. Dixit)
Foreign Secretary
28.12.1993

Director (L&T)

New Delhi, dated the 24th December, 1993.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM


Subject:-Writ Petition No. C.O. 6720(W) of 1993 filed in Calcutta High Court by Shri Bijan Ghosh challenging the declaration of Bharat Ratna Award posthumously to Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

- - -

The undersigned is directed to say that one Shri Bijan Ghosh has filed a writ Peition No. C.O. 6720(W) of 1993 in Calcutta High Court challenging the declaration of Bharat Ratna Award posthumously to Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose by Union of India. In his application filed before the Hon'ble Court, Shri Ghosh has prayed for impleading Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs/Secretary, Ministry of Defence, as parties/respondents in the ends of justice.

2. As the request of Shri Bijan Ghosh from impleading Secretaries, Ministry of External Affairs and Defence is on the basis of certain documents which concern Ministry of External Affairs/Ministry of Defence, a copy of the application together with a copy of his amended writ petition are enclosed for perusal and necessary action by them.

3. The next date for hearing of this case in the Calcutta High Court is 19th January, 1994.


(L.B. SINATE)
DIRECTOR (C&M & VIG.)

To

1. Secretary,
Ministry of External Affairs,
South Block,
New Delhi.
2. Secretary,
Ministry of Defence,
South Block,
New Delhi.

(102)

DISTRICT : CALCUTTA

**IN THE HIGH COURT AT CALCUTTA
CONSTITUTIONAL WRIT JURISDICTION
APPELLATE SIDE**

In the Matter of :

**An application for addition of
Parties ;**

- And -

In the Matter of :

**An application under Article 226 of
the Constitution of India ;**

- And -

In the Matter of :

C.O. No. 6720 (W) of 1993 ;

- And -

In the Matter of :

BIBAN GHOSH PETITIONER.

- Versus -

UNION OF INDIA AND OTHERS ..RESPONDENTS

To

**The Hon'ble Mr. A.M. Bhattacharjee, Chief Justice and
His Companion Justices of the said Hon'ble Court.**

contd...2.

*16/12
M(124)*

The humble petition of the petitioner
abovenamed most respectfully -

S H E W E T H :

1. Your petitioner is a citizen of India and the petitioner in the above writ application pending before this Hon'ble Court.
2. The said writ petition has since been amended with the leave of this Hon'ble Court and an amended writ application verified by an affidavit affirmed on 2nd December 1993 has been filed before this Hon'ble Court on the 6th December, 1993, an advance copy thereof having been served on the respondents on or about 23rd November 1993. The said Civil Order is fixed for next hearing on the 19th January 1994.
3. In the meantime because of disclosure of certain facts referred to hereinafter in detail, it has become necessary to add the following as parties/respondents to the writ application in the ends of justice :-
 - (a) Secretary to the Government of India,
Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, and
 - (b) Secretary to the Government of India,
Ministry of Defence, New Delhi.

contd...3.

(c) The Managing Editor, North Indian Patrika, Allahabad Patrika (P) Limited, 6, Patrika Marg, Allahabad.

4. Professor Samar Guha, who has been added by this Hon'ble Court as a party to the present proceedings under the order dated the 29th September, 1993, has filed an affidavit before this Hon'ble Court during the hearing of the case on 6th December 1993. In the said affidavit, the said added respondent has referred to certain correspondence between him and Shri Dinesh Singh, the Hon'ble Minister for External Affairs, Government of India, as well as between Dr. Triguna Sen and the said Hon'ble Minister. Professor Samar Guha has also referred in his affidavit to a letter received by ^{him} ~~him~~ on 29th March 1991 from Shri Digbijay Singh, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, Government of India. Reference has also been made to certain specific documents relating to the disappearance and whereabouts of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, who are either in the possession of or capable of being procured and produced by the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. Copies of Professor Samar Guha's letter to Mr. Brezhnev, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev and Mr. Boris Yeltsin, the present President of the Federation of Russia, seeking information about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, have also been annexed to the said affidavit of Professor Samar Guha.

contd...4.

5. While the above-mentioned letter of Shri Digvijoy Singh contains an affirmation by the Ministry of External Affairs that the follow-up action regarding high-level investigation into secret documents on the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose has already been initiated, the letter dated the 6th March 1993 of the present Minister for External Affairs addressed to Professor Samar Guha contains the following reply :-

" I entirely agree with you that the riddle about disappearance of Netaji should be solved. I can assure you we shall do everything possible in this regard. You have made suggestions which are very important and I am having the matter examined as to how best we should proceed further ".

6. Professor Samar Guha has also set out in his affidavit the following portion from a letter written to Dr. Triguana Sen by Shri Dinesh Singh, the present Minister for External Affairs, Government of India :-

" We shall carry out any directive from the President of India regarding inquiry into the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. In the meantime, we shall see if we can gather some information from the Kremlin's file as suggested by you".

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- 5 -

7. ✓ Earlier to this, Professor Samar Guha appears to have taken up the matter ^{with} Shri V.P. Singh, when he was the Prime Minister,. On the 7th June, 1990 Shri V.P. Singh is stated to have addressed the following letter to Professor Samar Guha :-

" Dear Professor Guha : I have received your letter of May 17, 1990 regarding high level investigations into secret documents on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose believed to be available in the U.S.S.R., U.K., Japan and the U.S.A.

I have asked the Ministry of External Affairs to look into this.

Regards.

Yours Sincerely

Sd/- V.P. Singh "

8. ✓ Professor Samar Guha has stated in his affidavit to have written on the subject thereafter to Shri I.K. Gujral, the then Minister of External Affairs and also discussed the matter with him. Shri Gujral is stated to have assured all efforts to contact U.S.S.R. and other concerned foreign countries.

9. Reference has been made in the said affidavit to a letter written in February 1978 by Shri N.G. Gony,

contd...6.

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- 16 -

the then Indian High Commissioner in London to Lord Mountbatten requesting him to shed some authentic light on the Netaji episode in the context of the report about his having taken asylum in 1945 in the USSR and Lord Mountbatten's reply thereto to the effect that there was no official record of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death in his archives. The said letters have also been set out in the book - "NETAJI DEAD OR ALIVE ?" by Professor Samar Guha, which forms part of the annexure to his affidavit. The said book also contains the text of a Parliament question on the above correspondence between Shri W.G. Darg and Lord Mountbatten and the reply given thereto by Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee, the then Minister for External Affairs, Government of India.

10. The recent publication by the Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India of a book written by Dr. S.C. Malikap "Challenging to the Empire : A Study of Netaji" which was produced before this Hon'ble Court during the hearing on the 6th December 1993 to draw the attention of this Hon'ble Court to certain passage in the book bearing a clear reference to the fact of Netaji having flown to Bangkok and thence to Dairen enroute Taihoku to have his asylum in USSR and containing a clear assertion that history is yet to say anything positive about his death of having remaining alive.

contd...7.

- 7 -

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11. ✓ The xerox copy of the letter of Sh. Kharshed Mehoji written to Mr. Louis Fischer on behalf of Gandhiji on 2nd July, 1946 annexed to the affidavit of Professor Samar Guha also goes to show that Netaji was in Soviet Russia at that time and the congress party in India was apprehensive of his coming to India with Russian help in which case the control of the political situation in the country would go out of the hands of Gandhiji and other Congress Leader. It is in the context of the above apprehension that a gesture was thrown in the said letter for England to play fair to the People of India or to be declared by Indians for ever an ^{enemy} ~~enemy~~ of India or Asiatics. Almost immediately after writing of this letter the Interim Government was installed at New Delhi leading ultimately to Transfer of Power to a partitioned India within a year thereafter. This letter is reported to be available in the archives of Princeton University in U.S.A. and has been located thereby an India research scholar, Dr. Bhairab Bhattacharjee.

A true copy of the said letter is annexed hereto and marked with the letter "A".

12. The above facts find corroboration and the air crash story does not find the slightest support from the historical works on Indian Independence Movement written by two eminent Historians, namely Dr. Ramesh Chandra

contd....2.

- 3 -

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Majumdar and Professor Analesh Tripathi. While Dr. Majumdar draws a complete blank after the departure of the plane from Saigon, Professor Tripathi describes the rest as complete silence, as stated in paragraph 15 of the supplementary affidavit of Dr. Susanta Kumar Mitra (respondent No. 5) filed before this Hon'ble Court on 6th December, 1993.

13. The Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, should be able to enlighten on the above aspect of the case with reference to the records in their possession and/or the records which are capable of being procured by them from ^{external} ~~external~~ sources, as indicated in the above-mentioned letters referred to by Professor Samar Guha in his affidavit.

14. Dr. Susanta Kumar Mitra (respondent No. 5) has annexed to his affidavit xerox copies of a series of articles (17 in number), which appeared in the North Indian Patrika, Published from Allahabad on different dates between 20/12/1985 and 31/1/1986 under the caption " The Man of Mystery", based on an investigative inquiry conducted by two of their Journalists into the background of a nameless " Saint" having entered India from Tibet via Nepal in the year 1951 and having stayed at different places in U.P. upto the year 1985, who upon investigation was found to be no other person than Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. The said articles also contain reference to a host of documents and other materials bearing identity with

(716)

- 9 -

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose including a wrist watch left behind by the said "Saint" which were inventorised by the local police in the presence of local witnesses. The said reports also point out the mysterious fact of the disappearance of the said "Saint" between the 16th and 18th September 1985, during which period he was alleged to have died, but the dead body was not shown to any person and the cremation of a completely covered dead body took place in an unusual manner under close guard by certain persons at a place on the bank of river Saraju in Faizabad (U.P.), which was not a cremation place. The placing of a completely covered dead body on the funeral pyre bears significant resemblance to the placing of the closed coffin itself, containing the dead body of a Japanese ^{soldier} ~~soldier~~, Ichiro Okura, into the ^{furnace} ~~furnace~~ at Tapai on 20th August, 1945.

15. While the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India and the Ministry of Defence, Government of India should be able to throw light on the identity of the said "Saint" reportedly entering India from Tibet via Nepal in the year 1951 and staying in India upto the year 1985, the North Indian Patrika, which conducted the above investigation by their Journalists and published the facts in the above articles, should be able to produce the source material on the basis whereof the said "Saint" was taken to be Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

16. The Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, should also be able to throw light on the point raised in my letter dated 30 November, 1993 addressed to the Secretary of the said Ministry, written with reference to the averment made in the affidavit of Shri N.N. Vohra, Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, purporting to claim privilege in respect of certain documents. A copy of the said letter dated 30 November, 1993, which will speak for itself, is annexed hereto and marked with the letter "B".

"B"

MHA

17. Your petitioner states that no reply has been received by him to the above-mentioned letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, although it is the said authority, who can give the clarification asked for in the said letter regarding the unnamed foreign nationals, who have been purported to be referred to as the wife and daughter respectively of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the said affidavit of Shri N.N. Vohra, with whom the Ministry of Home Affairs has carried on correspondence through our Embassy in Vienna on the question of Award of Bharat Ratna posthumously on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

18. In the premises, the presence of the Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi and the Managing Editor of North Indian Patrika, Allahabad Patrika (P) Limited, 6A, Patrika Marg, Allahabad, before this Hon'ble Court is necessary in order to enable this Hon'ble Court effectually and completely to adjudicate upon and settle all the questions involved

-: 11 :-

in the present writ proceedings. As will appear from the facts stated above, the said two persons are necessary and/or proper parties to the present proceedings and they should be impleaded as parties/respondents in the ends of justice.

19. This application is made bonafide and in the interest of justice.

In the circumstances your petitioner most respectfully prays Your Lordships to be graciously pleased to order that-

a) The Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, the secretary of the Government of India Ministry of Defence New Delhi and the Managing Editor, North Indian Patrika, Allahabad Patrika (P) Limited, 6, Patrika Marg, Allahabad be added as respondents to the writ application ;

b) The said added respondents be directed to file their respective affidavit-in-opposition to the amended writ application and the affidavits filed by the respondents Nos. 3 to 5

contd....12.

and to produce all relevant records
before this Hon'ble Court.

e) Such other and/or further order
or orders direction or directions
as may be deemed fit and proper.

And for this act of kindness your petitioner as in duty
bound shall ever pray.

Affidavit

AFFIDAVIT

I, Bihari Ghosh, son of Shri Denoy Krishna Ghosh, aged about 37 years, by occupation Advocate, practising at High Court, Calcutta, residing at B-172, B.E. College, Howrah-3, do hereby solemnly affirm and say as follows :-

1. That I am the writ petitioner and I am well acquainted with the facts and circumstances of the case.
2. That the statements made in paragraphs 1 to 3, 16 to 19 (both inclusive) are true to my knowledge, and those made in paragraphs 4 to 15, excepting last paragraph are derived from records and newspapers and rest are my humble submissions before this Hon'ble Court.

Prepared by me

Sd/- Bijan Ghosh

Sd/- Bijan Ghosh.
The deponent

Solemnly affirmed before me

this 13th day of December, 1993.

Commissioner.

(115)

and/or citizens of a foreign country could be entered into by the Government of India through its Embassy in Vienna by treating them as wife and daughter respectively of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose needs clarification.

4. The above information and/or clarification is necessary in order to appreciate the facts pleaded in support of the claim of privilege put forth by the Ministry of Home Affairs in respect of the said correspondence with certain persons in a foreign country over the question of conferring the title of "Bharat Ratna" on Netaji.

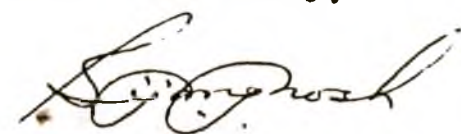
5. I, therefore, request you to favour me with such particulars as may be in your possession as to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose having wife and daughter outside this country and the basis on which their identity in such capacity has been recognised by your Ministry enabling the Government of India to enter into correspondence through the Embassy in Vienna with such persons on the above subject by treating them as wife and daughter respectively of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

6. A very reply is solicited.

7. This is without prejudice to all my rights and contentions in the matter, including those relating to the pending writ proceedings above refused to.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,



Advocate

SUNDAY MORNING : NEAR AKSHAYA BIDYAPIT

बीमा नहीं NOT INSURED		क्रमांक 3420
लगाये गये डाक टिकटों का मूल्य	रु 8/2	No. 3420
Amount of Stamps affixed	Rs. 8/2	
एक रजिस्टर्ड	प्राप्त किया	
Received a Registered		
पानेवाले का नाम	Min-p-rx	तारीख मोहर
Addressed to	10/1/54	Date Stamp
पानेवाले का पता		
Signature of Receiving Officer		
M. Delhi - 1		

Copy of a letters from Khurshed Naoroji to Louis Fischer

22/7/46

Dear Fischer -

I enclose a copy of Gandhiji's letter, as desired by you. But please don't think that he is not with us. I have been with him since my release from prison and he put the constructive Programme before the country which was overlooked by the working Committee when they decided on constitutional methods.

Since the release of his colleagues of the Working Committee he has gone with them because they were not prepared to go with him but Gandhiji is essentially a man of action and when the time comes, he will take the country with him.

The Socialists are merely implimenting the constructive programme in the light of present circumstances, We must go to the people and forge mass sanctions. The people want to know the shape of things to come. Grouping of the provinces or the question of sovereignty does not touch them, they want a plan. Let our leaders go to the Govt. sponsored Constituent Assembly and we remain with the people to share their joys and sorrows. When the time comes we shall be one.

The Socialists do not want violence any more than does Gandhiji but what is practiced non-violence, we say nonkilling. We have to put non-violence in to practice and not just go talking of truth of non-violence. People want deals and not words. For twenty years we have talked on the ideal Govt. and the practical stage for us today is Panchayat Raj. Our people are very patient but even their patience is wearing thin. All Congress and the nationist minded people are one but our headache is the Indo-Anglo-Russians. The foreign Govt. has built them up to fight the Congress and will have to deal with them now. They are going underground and if before the time the Allies (excluding Russia), have a scrap with Soviet Russia, India is not satisfied

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with the results of the Constituent Assembly. She will go over entirely and absolutely to the enemies of the Allies. The Indian army (not the Indian National Army) is no longer of the same temper as it was in the first world war. Besides the disaffection amongst the Indian officers and the rank and file, a revolutionary group has been working amongst them and they are pro-Russian. There have been many cases a court martial in the Indian army on individuals and platoons during the last war both in India and abroad. There have been mass desertions in the regular army and minor reaps in the N.W.F. Province at the beginning of the last war.

At heart the Indian army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army. If Bose comes with the help of Russia neither Gandhiji nor the Congress will be able to reason with the country. Also Russia for propaganda purposes declares itself an Asiatic country then there is no hope of any European alliance acceptable to India. Freedom for India under the aegis of Soviet Russia is no freedom for us: but it now rests with England to play fair by the people of India or be declared by us for ever as the enemy of India and of the Asiatics. There are other groups in north India pro-Russian, but after Russia joined the Allies they lost caste. However the bitterness towards the English is so great that Russia will again come into favour on the event of any disagreement amongst the Allies.

Gandhiji is not touched with the international reactions but we can't afford to neglect the signs of the time specially when it concerns our freedom.

Yours,
Khurshed

DISTRICT - CALCUTTA

(118)

IN THE HIGH COURT AT CALCUTTA

Constitutional Writ Jurisdiction

Appellate Side

In the matter of :

An application for addition of parties;

- And -

In the matter of :

BIJAN GHOSH PETITIONER.

- Versus -

UNION OF INDIA AND OTHERS.

... RESPONDENTS.

P E T I T I O N

BIJAN GHOSH

Advocate

**Bar Association Room No. 11,
High Court, Calcutta.**